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Editorial

This issue of *NIU Journal of Social Sciences* focuses on Development Administration, Social Philosophy, Educational Management as well as Political Economic Relations.

The first part of the Journal addresses issues in Development Administration such as Crime fighting, Economic Repositioning, Nation Building, Service Delivery, Social Development, Resource Control and so on. It is argued in one of the papers that fall in revenue during Covid 19 lockdown has negatively affected the education sector in Nigeria. As the solutions to the challenges educational fundind during COVID-19, the paper recommends among others for the provision of infrastructure for learning, keeping students safe online, improved educational funding and reduction in taxes to educational institutions by government.

Section two explores issues in Political Economic Relations such as Multilateral Diplomacy, Religion, Contemporary Security Debacle in West Africa and the Political Economy of Colonial Administration in Africa. In assessing and exploring Nigeria's multilateral diplomacy, one of the papers in this section uses latent content analysis to mine data from existing documents, journal articles, newspapers, and policy papers to dissect the process of multilateralism in Nigeria's foreign policy and concluded that Nigeria's multilateral diplomacy is one of the most complex not only in Africa but also in the global south.

In the Section on Educational Management, one of the papers argues that the value of education is underlined by the fact that each society establishes an educational system designed to serve its present and future needs. Education serves as an instrument for stability, change and renewal. Thus, the transmission of knowledge, skills and values is basic and information dissemination has been the key to achieving these laudable goals.

Papers in the last section are on Social Psychology. Using Lagos State in Nigeria as a case study, one of the papers in these sections reveals that one of the major challenges confronting mediation and administration of criminal justice in cases of spousal battery are underreporting and under prosecution associated with a myriad of problems accounting for adjournment and withdrawal of cases in court. Following this, the study recommends that society should exhibit zero tolerance to spousal battery. Law enforcement agencies like the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), the Court, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the media should champion the promotion of public sensitization and awareness of the laws prohibiting the crime, encourage victims to speak out, report the crime to appropriate authorities and assist victims to press for legal charges in court.

Government should also show more commitment in decongesting the Domestic Violent Court and Citizen's Mediation Centre of civil cases like spousal battery and the provision of free treatment, as well as counseling and rehabilitation, to victims.

In all, this edition of *NIU Journal of Social Sciences* features many interesting research papers. Some of these papers are empirical in nature while others have theoretical base. Each of them focuses on one specific social and management problem or the other; trying to proffer solutions to them. Readers are therefore advised to make proper use of the ideas presented by the various authors.

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Part One

Development Administration



Managing Nigeria's Education amidst the Covid- 19 Pandemic Era: Implication on Educational Funding

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Abstract. This theoretical paper examined the management of Nigeria's education amidst the COVID-19 pandemic era and its implication on educational funding. It was revealed in the paper that COVID-19 which is a disease with origin from China got into Nigeria in February, 2020. The Presence of the disease led to the closure of schools in Nigeria on the 19th of March, 2020. This led to a disruption of educational activities in all learning institutions in the country. These disruptions affected learning modes, access to school related activities and parenting routines. The paper also revealed that the three main obstacles for learners in the midst of school shutdown were a lack of access to technology, an unsuitable home learning environment and a lack of access to learning materials. It was also revealed that the use of blended learning, innovative partnerships and accelerated digital skills through on line learning were used in managing education during the pandemic. Furthermore, revenue inflows dwindled for government, households and developmental partners in the midst of COVID-19 pandemic. This fall in revenue negatively affected the education sector in Nigeria. For Nigeria to overcome the challenges of COVID-19 and effectively manage the pandemic in the educational sector and its implication on educational funding, the paper recommended among others for the provision of infrastructure for learning, keeping students safe online, improved educational funding and reduction in taxes to educational institutions by government.

Keywords: COVID-19, Education Sector, Funding, Pandemic

1. Introduction

The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, which is a blueprint for creating a just World, has

named "quality education" as its fourth goal. One target of that goal according to Grahl, Johnson & Holland (2020) is ensuring that by the year 2030, all children have the means to complete a "free, equitable, and quality primary and secondary education." This is a monumental goal. Even in the best times, educating children is far more complex which requires adequate funding than just getting them into a classroom.

Countries were striving to achieve this goal before the advent of COVID-19. COVID-19 being an infectious disease that is caused by Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome known as Corona Virus 2 began as a cluster of pneumonia cases from an unknown virus in Wuhan, Hubei Province in China in December, 2019. After subjecting it to laboratory tests, the disease was named corona virus disease 2019 which was abbreviated to "COVID-19", while the virus has been named "SARS-CoV-2". Wuhan, which is known for a large seafood and live animal market, imply that corona virus was transmitted from animal to human. The first confirmed case of COVID-19 started experiencing symptoms in Wuhan, China on the 1st of December 2019.

The disease, which was declared a pandemic by the World Health Organization (WHO) in January 2020, has since spread to over 196 countries across the globe, registering its presence in every continent. Health experts have however suggested that the best way to curb the spread of COVID-19 is through social distancing, personal hygiene and restriction of movement from one place to another. Even though there are ongoing efforts to curtail the spread of the disease globally, which is transmitted almost entirely through human to human contact, as at 8 December 2020, COVID-19 has accounted for 65.8 million

confirmed cases and 1.5 million deaths worldwide since the start of the pandemic (W.H.O, 2020).

On 27th February 2020, the first case of COVID-19 was announced in Nigeria, Africa's most populated country with a population of approximately 200 million people through an infected Italian citizen who came to Lagos the commercial nerve centre of the country. The disease then spread to other residents of Lagos and subsequently to other parts of Nigeria. As at 10 December 2020, the country has recorded 70,195 confirmed cases and 1,182 deaths of COVID-19 cases (N.C.D.C, 2020).

The closures of schools is said to have impacted over 70 percent of the world's inhabitants. The heads and managers of educational institutions have become fully conscious of the fact that there could be a future where the outbreak of COVID-19 and other interruptions might become a part of our everyday lives. This also means implementing change in learning and teaching.

Indeed, the COVID-19 pandemic has affected the lives of many individuals, negatively impacting the global economy and sources of livelihoods. Due to measures to contain the pandemic, about 1.2 billion learners are out of school and 73.8 percent of the world's school population has been affected by school closures (UNESCO, 2020a). Although this has affected education access, quality and equality, it has propelled the reshaping of education delivery across the world. On March 19, 2020, the Federal Ministry of Education in Nigeria approved the closure of all learning institutions (Nlebem, 2020).

This abrupt closure led to significant disruptions in the education system in Nigeria; including learning modes, access to school related services, parenting routines, and crisis management capacities of the federal and state ministries of education. Students were at home for several months in 2020, causing relevant stakeholders to adapt quickly and develop solutions to minimize the potential learning slide resulting from the pandemic. According to UNESCO (2020b), the closure of schools has affected 36,400,000 primary and secondary school learners across Nigeria, including those in internally displaced camps. Few of these learners who are mostly from financially privileged households, have access to quality learning opportunities from the comfort of their homes.

Major causes of this inequity include limited or non-availability of smart phones or computers and internet services in most homes, and the large number

of schools that lack the financial and technical capacity to transit from in-school to remote learning facilitation. Many schools are limited in their capacity to purchase the required infrastructure for remote learning and often do not have teachers with the appropriate digital skills. For schools that may be better resourced, it has been challenging facilitating practical-oriented subjects and courses that typically engage students through laboratory experiment. With the closure of schools, there were very few schools that could afford to set up and maintain virtual science laboratories where students and the teachers or lecturers could work together to simulate experiments (Abbey & Hoxley, 2020). These students had to make do with learning the theoretical aspects of science subjects alone, until schools were re-opened.

The COVID-19 pandemic has also threatened the education of children or youths with special needs and disabilities. Without a crisis, this group of the society already experience some form of marginalization. Hence, the likelihood of losing learning opportunities during the COVID-19 pandemic era, due to combination of factors including the socio-economic income of their families, the non-availability of special needs teachers and the inexperience of parents or guardians in facilitating their learning needs. For children with disabilities, remote home-schooling not only requires access to adequate information technology (IT) resources and internet, books and other learning materials; but also, access to specific assistive devices or special education curricula that allow for a continuous education at home and accommodates the child's specific learning needs (UNICEF, 2020a). The COVID-19 pandemic presents unique challenges for Nigeria's already fragile education system. Obiakor and Adeniran (2020) disclosed that before the pandemic, there was an estimated total of 10.2 million out-of-school children in Nigeria. The outbreak of the disease compounded this problem in Nigeria's fragile educational sector.

2. The State of Nigeria's Education in the COVID-19 Era

This is the right time for educational institutions in Nigeria to reorganize what the prospect of education would look like and take realistic steps towards adopting a blended learning format that will improve the standard of education in the country. This is because UNESCO reported that 89 percent of students in Nigeria do not have right to use home computers and 82 percent do not have internet access (Anifowoshe, Abdullahi, Ayodele, Akinjo & David,

2020). This means that these online classes cannot accommodate all students. In spite of these, the challenges with this access have seen some innovations in circumventing the bandwidth challenges; these include pre-recorded lectures on these zero-rated e-learning platforms, among others. However, these efforts are still faced with challenges.

Nigeria's education sector is diverse and so too are their challenges. Private education has a different challenge to public, just like urban has to rural education. While the issues may differ among states, there is one important commonality: the scale of the issues is different at different educational levels. Research has shown that less than 20 percent of Nigerians attend university. Less than 40 percent finish secondary school, while more than 80 percent attend primary education (UNESCO, 2020b). It is the primary level which is least able to cope with the disruption of schooling during COVID-19 era. Primary children, in general, have little experience of study outside the classroom, they are unlikely to have adequate provision for learning at home or access to internet-enabled devices and many parents will not have the ability to provide sufficient support to their learning. So, those most in need of support are the least likely to be able to access it. And if a child drops out of primary school, they are unlikely to return to full-time education.

The Nigerian Government closed down its educational institutions early. With very little warning, the whole approach to education through classroom teaching became unviable, with little planned to replace it. This problem was faced by governments worldwide but has been particularly severe in Nigeria where there is a wide disparity in provision for the 'elite' and for less advantaged people, mostly in rural areas. While educational programmes on television and radio were quickly launched by many state governments, they were only accessible to those with access to a television or a radio sets. Similarly, online learning was only accessible to those with internet access.

While the need for distance learning was clear from the outset of the pandemic, achieving effective reach to students was more complex. Schools were left to their own devices, at both the primary and secondary school levels; priority was often accorded to continuing with examination classes that is those classes taking the primary and secondary leaving certificates. Neither students nor teachers had any prior experience in teaching and learning outside the classroom.

UNESCO (2020a) revealed that, the three main obstacles for learners in the midst of school shutdown were a lack of access to technology, an unsuitable home learning environment, and a lack of access to learning materials. For teachers, the main impediment was the lack of appropriate training to design and manage distance learning programmes. This was compounded by a lack of infrastructure: electricity, connectivity, devices; and a lack of appropriate learning materials: books, television and internet-enabled devices. In most cases, poorer students and those most geographically dispersed are mostly at risk of missing out on education if there is no conventional school to attend. In addition to these difficulties, most teachers were as inadequately prepared and ill-equipped to deal with this new situation as their students were. Parents were also ill-equipped to support their children's education at home. While some governments provided 'sensitization' for teachers and parents, many did not. The current school curriculum also did not lend itself to distance delivery.

The state of education in Nigeria during the COVID-19 era can therefore be summarized thus:

- There was widespread closure of schools at the peak of the pandemic but they were reopened in October, 2020. - These closures were seen as essential in tackling the pandemic.
- A lack of access to technology is considered to be the biggest barrier for learning during the current pandemic in Nigeria. This is because learners in rural communities are those most likely to be disadvantaged as a result. The main limitation in this case is the lack of availability and affordability of connectivity.
- Early childhood and primary level students are seen to be most likely to be disadvantaged by the crisis and least likely to be able to access the technologies required for learning.
- A large majority of educators have not received financial support for teaching and learning tools to help them continue teaching in the crisis, and do not feel there has been sufficient preparation to help them adapt.
- It has led to more widespread use of technology in education in the future. However, this will lead to significant challenges for the most marginalized and may increase inequality.

3. How to manage the educational sector during the COVID-19 pandemic era

The closure of schools due to the COVID-19 pandemic presents an opportunity for education stakeholders to play their part in developing and executing strategies that will position the education system to prepare students to compete in the global scene. The educational sector can be managed during the COVID-19 pandemic era in the following ways:

Blended learning: Schools can develop frameworks that allow them to provide a blend of traditional classroom and distance learning opportunities for their students even after the pandemic. Majority of teachers now prefer a blended teaching approach where they can have both physical and online teaching with their students. This provides an opportunity for school owners to minimize operating costs of running traditional schools and also explore flexible school fee payment arrangements with parents. This period of home-schooling also presents parents with opportunities to better diagnose their children's academic strengths and weaknesses and make more informed decisions.

Innovative partnerships: Several avenues for the government and the private sector to partner with education technology companies and internet service providers to create online academies and provide related services that would cater to the learning needs of students have risen as a result of the COVID-19 Pandemic.

Investment opportunities: The current situation also presents investment opportunities for the private sector. These opportunities can be maximized by private investors and individuals interested in education franchising (Ikoku, 2020). This would be a chance for these companies to make exponential profit while also creating a social impact in the educational sector. It would also allow internet service providers to engage in more meaningful corporate social responsibility projects. The online education business has grown massively over the last decade and the COVID-19 pandemic has seen even more people accessing education online. The internet has provided the opportunities for many online school owners to access students from all over the world.

Accelerated digital skills acquisition: The COVID-19 pandemic has led to a higher adoption of digital teaching learning and innovation amongst teachers, students, parents and private organizations. Much more than was ever before, stakeholders in the education sector have been exposed to digital skills because of the pandemic. Some parents reported that their children have adapted well to learning online

and this has improved their digital skills. As the world changes during the COVID-19 era, these skills are likely to become even more important for the future of work and the productivity of workers (Olisah, 2020).

4. Implication on Educational Funding

The outbreak of COVID-19 negatively affected educational funding in Nigeria. The fiscal space to fund education has further shrunk with the decline on government revenue and economic downturn arising from the COVID-19 pandemic. Generally, Government, households, and development partners are the main funders of education. The ability of each group to fund education was affected by COVID-19 in different ways. Nigeria's Government budgetary allocation to its education sector has always been below the 26 percent recommendation of UNESCO. For example, Adeyinka (2020) disclosed that in the Nigerian budget of N10.33 trillion for year 2020, only N691.07 billion representing 6.7 percent of the budget was allotted to the education sector as compared with 7.04 percent in 2019.

For year 2021, Mohammed (2020) asserted that out of the N13.08 trillion budgeted for that year, N742.5 billion was allotted to education. That is just 5.6 percent of the budget, the lowest percentage allocation since 2011. What this indicates is that the education sector does not have enough budgetary allocation to drive the changes associated with the COVID-19 pandemic. This will make it difficult for the provision of virtual learning platforms and other technical infrastructure.

The COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in a massive income shock for many households in Nigeria. The household income of many families declined as rates of unemployment and underemployment increased. Given the global nature of the pandemic, inflation reduced the incomes of households to the extent that their capacity to purchase dwindled significantly. In many households, particularly poor households, these declines in household income reduced their investments in education. Furthermore, reductions in income and the need for greater health spending occasioned by the COVID-19 pandemic have made it difficult for some families to cover education costs.

Previous economic crisis in low-income countries like Nigeria have reduced incomes, lowered household education spending, and led to lower rates of school participation (World Bank, 2020). Declining incomes may also lead to shifts in enrollment from private schools to public schools, adding

further pressure on public education budgets. The overall implication of shifts of this kind without adequate funding will be to reduce quality, for example, by increasing class sizes.

Development assistance for education has only recently recovered from the financial crisis of 2008/09. UNESCO (2019) revealed that in the five years prior to the financial crisis, aid to education increased in real terms by approximately 10 percent per year, but in the five years afterwards, it fell by about 2 percent annually. Aid to education only reached the levels seen prior to the crisis in 2016 that is seven years after the onset of the crisis. These trends were not only a result of reductions in total development assistance. Between 2007 and 2016 for example, the share of all aid going to education declined from 11 percent to 8 percent.

Aid volume to education was negatively affected by the sharp drop in economic growth associated with the pandemic in some of the largest donor countries. For example, the United Kingdom (UK) is one of the largest bilateral donors to basic education and has committed itself to meeting the UN target of allocating 0.7 percent of GDP to development assistance. However, the UK economy is forecast to contract by 6.5 percent in 2020, which could reduce the government's aid commitments by approximately US\$1.4 billion (UNESCO, 2019). This implies that the advent of COVID-19 affected the educational assistance coming to Nigeria from donors and other partners.

5. Conclusion

Although COVID-19 significantly disrupted education like other sectors of the economy, the responses of educational stakeholders in Nigeria provided a quick cushion to reduce the learning slide among Nigerian students. A number of challenges with regards to rural learning included lack of infrastructure, accessibilities of digital tools and internet facilities for learning. Children from wealthier households may access more learning online than their counterparts in poorer households. This raises the need for the government to ensure learning for all children in Nigeria; by creating measures to ensure that no child is left behind, support is required for different groups of students, from financial to infrastructural to alternative remote learning options. Measures that ensure that teachers and parents are well equipped with the necessary skills and tools for supporting the continuous learning of children should be top of the government's priority at this time. On the whole, education remains

important to the success of any nation and its people; even in the midst of a global pandemic, managing and funding the sector is key for leaders who prioritize education and knowledge.

6. The way forward

For Nigeria to overcome the challenges of COVID-19 and effectively manage the pandemic in the educational sector, the following are recommended:

The effectiveness of rural learning is highly limited by the infrastructural deficiencies in Nigeria. The government and other relevant education stakeholders need to intensify investment in accessible and quality internet connections, stable electricity, and remote learning tools like television sets, radio sets, mobile phones, laptops among others. The lack of these infrastructural provisions continually excludes students from public schools and low-income households.

In making education policy and planning decisions, it is important for educational stakeholders and decision makers to note that no platform is a panacea, and different learning platforms could complement each other depending on the learning context. Hence, it might be more beneficial for educational stakeholders (governments at all levels, researchers, proprietors, parents and teachers) to continually observe and engage a range of learning platforms/innovations, while generating evidence on which is more suitable in specific contexts. This should be done bearing issues of equity, quality, inclusion and safety in mind. All educational stakeholders must commit to establishing, monitoring and evaluation frameworks to generate measurable outcomes on the effectiveness of their different learning interventions.

Teachers' welfare cannot be over emphasized. Given the pedagogical, financial and infrastructural support that teachers require, school owners and administrators need to increase investment in teacher training to increase their capacities for using digital tools and ultimately create a pipeline of teaching talent to curb the massive learning loss during the COVID-19 era.

As students spend more time with digital technologies, there are also increasing concerns about the optimal amount of screen time and associated digital safety risks for children. Children and youths spending more time on digital learning platforms are at risk of being exploited by online predators if appropriate measures are not put in place to

safeguard them. Digital learning platforms should have inbuilt security measures to prevent the invasion of online pedophiles or marauders. Ministries of Education and schools should also have back-end access to all e-learning platforms within their regions to monitor activities going on. Most importantly, parents also have to protect their children by limiting their exposure to online platforms.

In light of increasing demands for parents to be more actively involved in their children's learning, it is important that they are equipped with tools and resources to effectively navigate this "new" terrain by understanding their children's learning needs and how to best meet them. Parents need active and contextual support (such as learning groups, help lines, tutorials, how-to guides, WhatsApp group chats and so on) especially in dealing with issues like online safety, screen time, distractions, among others. Home schooling and play-based learning methodologies can be explored by parents who want to engage their younger children at home at this time. Furthermore, the unstable economic conditions have made it financially straining for many parents. Governments and relevant stakeholders can provide economic palliatives for parents such as interest free loans, free/heavily subsidized online learning materials, and subsidized digital devices, among others.

Private schools have generally been responsive to the learning needs of students in the educational system amidst COVID-19. There is also a growing demand for more home-grown solutions that are sensitive to the socio-economic realities of Nigeria; for instance: mobile apps that require minimal data. With an enabling environment, greater financial support, and strategic partnerships can be provided by government, corporate organizations and well spirited individuals. This will go a long way in improving the standard of education in Nigeria.

The national curriculum planners in Nigeria should plan and adopt a curriculum that can easily respond to such pandemics in the future. This can be done to enable more effective distance learning in Nigeria's educational system at all levels.

More funding is required to keep learning going or scaled- up education support programmes as part of the government's palliative measures. For the government, reducing costs will require re-prioritizing its plans in the light of this new reality. This needs to be complemented with innovative sourcing of learning infrastructure during this period. For example, reaching children through existing

school and home appliances and gadgets will be more cost-effective. Greater involvement of domestic philanthropists and digital entrepreneurs can reduce the financial burden of sustaining learning through the crisis. In addition, the government could delay or reduce tax collection for educational institutions to help them recover and reposition themselves.

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Repositioning the Nigerian Economy in the COVID-19 Era and Beyond

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Abstract. The COVID-19 pandemic has changed the way of life of citizens around the world and in a short time, affected all areas of human society. The third year into the COVID-19 pandemic and the after-effects of Covid-19 are felt globally. The global social and economic activities have been altered as the world embraced the changes that have taken place as “a new normal”. The devastating impact of the Covid-19 pandemic has brought the global economy to its knees by generating serious shocks that have caused global economic fluctuations. The pandemic is threatening to pull into deep economic recession even the most powerful economies in the world. As such, no nation is insulated against the ravaging impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on global public health system and global economy. Before the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, Nigeria had been grappling with the burden of foreign debts, general insecurity, unemployment, and a dwindling economy. The economy was in a fragile state aside, suffering from a wide range of developmental challenges as well as glaring infrastructural deficits. The situation has not turned for the better but rather got worse since the outbreak of Covid-19. The lockdown measures and other preventive measures to curtail the spread of the pandemic further exposed the fragility of Nigeria’s economy. These measures crippled major economic activities in Nigeria. This resulted in the circular flow of income being significantly constrained since a reasonable proportion of the productive elements were rendered idle. Against the above backdrop, this paper examines the measures for the repositioning of Nigeria’s economy in the Covid-19 era and beyond.

Keywords: Coronavirus, Globalization, Microeconomic policy, Gross Domestic Product (GDP), New Normal

1. Introduction

The world has been thrown into uncertainty following the outbreak of the novel coronavirus disease (COVID-19) in the city of Wuhan, China sometime in the month of December 2019. Like a thief, the virus crept in quietly and rapidly permeated into every corner of the world and within a short time, it thoroughly changed the World from what it used to be. No doubt, the Covid-19 pandemic has brought about a change that forced human beings to adjust their normal way of life. This change is likely to endure for as long as the world has not found a cure even though vaccines have been developed to offer life-saving protection against a disease that has killed millions. The pandemic is far from over, and therefore Covid-19 vaccine inoculation as well as ensuring personal protective measures are the viable ways for staying safe at present.

The global socio-economic, religious, political, and cultural activities have been altered as the world embraced the changes that have taken place as a new ‘normal’. A new normal which changes human routine and our lives now thrown into upheaval by the changes brought by the COVID-19 pandemic. The devastating impact of the Covid-19 pandemic has brought the global economy to its knees by generating serious shocks that have caused global economic fluctuations. Quite amazingly, the pandemic is threatening to pull into deep economic recession even the most powerful economies in the world. As such, no nation is insulated against the ravaging impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on global public health system and economy.

This paper examines various issues relevant to the repositioning of Nigeria’s economy in the Covid-19 Era and Beyond. Before the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, the country was grappling with the burden of foreign debts, general insecurity, unemployment, and a dwindling economy. The economy was in a

fragile state aside from other wide range of developmental challenges and stack infrastructural deficit. Nigeria's infrastructure deficit, estimated at \$100 billion annually, is 189.77% above the 2021 federal budget, projected at \$34.51bn. The recent statistics show that the unemployment rate in Nigeria was at approximately 9.01 percent. The situation has not turned for the better but rather got worse since the outbreak of Covid-19. In fact, the preventive lockdown measures to curtail the spread of the pandemic further exposed the fragility of Nigeria's economy. The lockdown crippled the major economic activities in Nigeria. This resulted in the circular flow of income being significantly constrained since a reasonable proportion of the productive elements were rendered idle. It is saddening to record the closure of many businesses and corporate institutions. The implication of this development is that government's tax drive will equally be affected. The initial global closure of airports, seaports, and land borders significantly reduced the volume of domestic and international trade and other allied economic activities. Interestingly, "the government's transfer payments have increased considerably, owing to the expenditure on palliatives by various governments across the globe to cushion the effect of the lockdown on citizens."

The significance of food security to human development and the sustainable development goals cannot be overemphasized. Thus, food security remains a fundamental concern globally and in Nigeria, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic despite various palliatives and intervention initiatives launched to improve household welfare. Research on the food security status of households in Nigeria during the pandemic reported that only 12% of the households were food secure, 5% were mildly food insecure, 24.5% were moderately food insecure and over half of the households (58.5%) experienced severe food insecurity. This study indicated that over two-thirds of households were threatened by food insecurity in Nigeria.

The lockdown in Nigeria which though was necessary at the time, affected food production especially the denial of farmers' access to lands for farming. Other informal sectors of the Nigerian economy such as daily labourers' lost access to their daily earnings and lost income due to restricted mobility. Women and youth who are the major players in the informal sector of the Nigerian economy were adversely affected. The usual panic buying of food and stockpiling compounded the problem of food security. The biggest risk of food insecurity in Wave 4 of the COVID-19 pandemic was

experienced in Nigeria in the months of July and August 2019. Many households were reported as being unable to eat healthy, nutritious and preferred foods because of lack of money, while only a few ate the kinds of foods they preferred. More worrisome is the escalating level of insecurity in the country due to the activities of terrorist groups, kidnappers, and other criminal enterprises. The long-term fight against the monster called corruption still lacks vigour. The recent display of ignominy by Nigerian public servants who tried all tricks in order not to be made accountable for corrupt practices by the National Assembly Committees leaves much to be desired. The President, Muhammadu Buhari could not help but describe such shameful acts as a breach of public trust. This is not a morale booster to the teaming supporters of the administration who are expecting the regime to bring corrupt practices to a tolerable level. This is the situation Nigeria was before the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic.

2. The Covid-19 Pandemic and Globalisation

The Covid-19 pandemic is majorly a public health crisis, but it has serious consequences on the global economy. In fact, it has dealt a temporary blow on the concept of globalisation. The expected economic interdependence and multilateral norms through the creation of global supply chains which ultimately contribute to the economic growth of many low-and middle income countries, Nigeria inclusive, were on the decline. Although hard times never last, but while it lasts the Covid-19 pandemic is already disrupting the basic livelihoods of millions of people, with the majority of people at the bottom of the economic ladder, i.e. informal businesses, Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs), and daily paid labourers being the worst affected. The collapse in global oil prices affected all oil exporting nations, Nigeria inclusive. Global economic recession is already here but unfortunately the Nigerian economy is already weak and without the necessary buffers to weather the storm.

The outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic and the oil price shock adversely affected the oil-exporting developing countries leading to structural decline in the fossil fuel industry. It was observed that while some countries might weather the current crisis on the back of sovereign wealth funds or relatively low public debt levels, this may not be the case for most fragile oil-exporting countries. Many of those countries rely mainly on revenue from oil such as Nigeria. Nigeria seems to be entering a spiral of

unsustainable borrowing on the back of the current turmoil.

It is against the above backdrop; this paper explores the subject of repositioning the Nigerian Economy in the Covid-19 Era and Beyond. The paper gives a brief background information on the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic and the shocks it generated which have caused global economic fluctuations and a global public health crisis. Empirical facts regarding the Nigerian government's social and economic policy responses and choices in addressing the challenges will be provided. This includes the analysis of the Nigerian government's economic recovery measures rolled out after the ease of the lockdown.

3. Coronavirus Pandemic and the World of a "New Normal"

The world is not new to the outbreak of infectious diseases as history of global pandemic is replete with one form of outbreak or another. In retrospect, the 1918-1919 Spanish influenza claimed many lives and spread around the world. Other past epidemics include the HIV/AIDS virus, SARS, Avian influenza known as bird flu, and the Ebola outbreak. As such, when Coronavirus broke out in Wuhan city in China, not many people in the Republic of China took it as a serious pandemic. The Chinese authority who informed the world of the outbreak much later, underestimated the virulent nature of the virus expecting that they could handle it as a local or regional public health challenge. It was however never meant to be so as the World Health Organisation (WHO) later declared the coronavirus as a global threat and public health crisis.

We live in a world of economic globalisation. The prominent position of China as the manufacturing capital of the world exposed the African continent to imported cases of Covid-19. The available statistical update on the COVID-19 pandemic as of February 16, 2022 showed 418,650, 474 **confirmed cases** of COVID-19, a total of 5,856, 224 confirmed deaths, and vaccine doses administered of 10, 279,668,555. The total confirmed cases in **Africa stand at 8,264,647 cases**; with the five African countries reporting the highest number of cases being South Africa (3.66m confirmed cases and 98,667 confirmed deaths), Egypt (469,000 confirmed cases and confirmed deaths of 23,752), Nigeria (254,000 confirmed cases and confirmed deaths of 3,142), Morocco (1.16m confirmed cases and confirmed deaths of 15,894) and Ghana (158,000 confirmed cases and confirmed deaths of 1,433).

The above statistics indicate low cases of COVID-19 infection and low fatality rate in Africa compared to the other continents of the world. This is ironical against the backdrop of a genuine fear that Africa might become the epicentre of Covid-19 given the low level of public health infrastructure as well as poor standard of living in Africa. Some argue that the above figures may be an under representation due to low testing capacity of African nations, but the reality is that Africa is still not yet the epicentre of Covid-19. The reason for this, nobody can provide an answer to.

Nigeria recorded her index case of Covid-19 on the 27 February 2020. As of 25 August 2020, it is instructive to note that there had been an increase in community transmission after the ease of the lockdown. The nation has entered the fourth wave of infection due to community transmission though with impressive low death rate. While this development represents a public health issue, it is also an economic crisis. The impact of the pandemic reflected in supply and demand shocks as well as the unprecedented fall in oil prices. Crude oil prices had declined dramatically to as low as US\$17 per barrel by the end of the month of March 2020. The macroeconomic global and national policies are equally affected.

It did not take a long time before the nations of the world evoked the first law of nature which is self-preservation amid the pandemic. Every nation started to prioritise their own survival and would do whatever was necessary to protect their citizens economically and health wise. This seems to be the "New Normal" in the era of the Covid-19 pandemic. The so much cherished economic theory of multilateralism was dumped by nations because it was of no appeal to them in the period of desperation hence the doctrine of unilateralism dugout from the shackles of economic archives.

The emerging realities of a world economic order of the new normal in the Covid-19 era which attempted to temporarily strip away the glorious concept of globalisation was succinctly captured in the following statement by Hamid Beladi when he said, "The connectedness of industries is positive in good times and a problem when times are difficult". Thus, measures put in place by strong economies were meant to protect their own people and economies "regardless of the spill-over effects on the rest of the world". The World Customs Organisation (WCO) reported that a total of 32 countries and territories evoked stringent and immediate export restrictions on critical medical supplies and drugs that

were meant to respond to Covid-19. This irrational response could be attributed to fear of prolonged global economic recession and human fatality should the Covid-19 pandemic last longer than is envisaged.

It is instructive to note that in every misfortune lies opportunities and a wakeup call to nations to be self-reliant in some respects. As such, Nigeria must start to look inward in providing for her basic needs to guarantee high quality of living, good health care system, standard and adequate infrastructure, and cutting-edge educational system that will cater for her scientific, economic, and social needs. For how long will Nigeria continue to depend on foreign goods and neglect the potential of locally produced goods? For how long will Nigeria remain a mono-resource dependent country (oil) while the reality makes it obvious that no nation can survive on a mono-product economy without diversification?

4. Realities of COVID-19 and Challenges

As it was observed elsewhere, the Covid-19 global “new normal” means different things to different people, organisations and nations as each entity bases its adaptive measures, and takes decisions that will guarantee her economic sustainability. The pre-existing realities of the condition of the Nigerian economy, the fiscal and monetary policies, the debt profile and developmental policy and agenda will determine the direction Nigeria will take in resetting its economy in the Covid-19 era and beyond. In the global “new normal”, digitalisation of economic activity has become the most effective adaptive measure which continents like Asia, Europe and North America have embraced to keep the frontier of economic activities moving on especially with regards to production and supply chains as well as services. Nigeria may however find this difficult due to poor internet access and penetration, and challenges of acquiring computer hardware and above all, because a large sector of the Nigerian economy is informal with little access to internet services and poor power supply.

At the peak of the first wave of the Covid-19 pandemic and imposed lockdown across the world, advanced countries encouraged the culture of working from home and this mitigated the initial downside of the impact of the pandemic to a reasonable measure. The situation is not the same for Nigeria because online work and business interactions are difficult. The informal sector of the Nigerian economy which accounts for about 85% of businesses in Nigeria are practically conducted physically. The informal sector of the Nigerian

economy operates largely on a person-to-person basis and the concept of social distancing is of no meaning to the people. Another problem with Nigerians adapting to the new normal is that the requirement of social distancing may not be effective in an economy where majority are heavily dependent on daily subsistence earnings.

The Covid-19 ‘new normal’ era has exposed the incapability of Nigeria in embracing economic digitalisation especially in an emergency like the present one. The Minister of Communication and Digital Economy and NITDA’s relentless efforts to ensure that Nigerians take full benefit of the digital age through numerous policies and interventions must be commended. Some economic analysts have however suggested that for Nigeria to take full benefit of the digital age, it is imperative to shrink the size of “the informal sector of the Nigerian economy and increase the breadth of the formal sector as it ramps up electricity generation and distribution, improves transport infrastructure and supports a significant reduction in the cost of access to the internet”.

While we do not totally agree with the above suggestion for the simple fact that the Nigerian informal sector creates many jobs in Nigeria, the call for the reduction in internet data cost to enable our small and medium-sized businesses become active in the emerging ‘new normal’ of economic digitalisation is necessary. Unfortunately, it is sad to note that the government has approved a 7.5% **value-added tax (VAT)** increase on phone calls and Short Message Service (SMS) at a time when Nigerians are expecting lower tariffs on mobile services especially in the era of Covid-19.

Since the oil sector contributes largely to Nigerian revenue generation and accounts for about 70% of her gross domestic product (GDP) and 65% of the total government revenue, the fluctuations in global oil prices signalled a tough economic crisis for the nation. Government needs to rise up to the occasion in combating the pandemic which will ultimately increase Nigeria’s fiscal deficit and her susceptibility to high public debt vulnerabilities. Prior to the outbreak of the pandemic, Nigeria had been grappling with unpleasant capital flows due to several reasons among which are insecurity, problem of power generation and distribution (energy), poor infrastructure to support trade and industrial activities, and low domestic interest rates. This no doubt puts a “serious pressure on Nigeria’s foreign exchange reserve and the exchange rate has also negatively affected the conduct of sundry monetary

policies in the country". The cumulative effect of this will be felt in Nigeria's macroeconomic stability coupled with the challenges of the pandemic.

In the Covid-19 era, Nigeria cannot continue to bury her head in the sand without accessing the vulnerabilities of the macroeconomic policy in the face of the pandemic and beyond. Although some economists have made an optimistic projection of the future trajectory of the effect of the Covid-19 pandemic on global economy to be relatively mild and are optimistic of an early return of global economic normalcy, how true is this projection? Only time will tell. Whatever the outcome of various economic projections may be, it is imperative for Nigeria as a developing economy to articulate a practical and sustainable policy adaptation and approach to cushion the effect of the pandemic on her economy. Hence the need for repositioning the Nigerian economy beyond the Covid-19 era.

5. Socio-Economic impact of COVID-19 in Nigeria

The Covid-19 pandemic has continued to spread exponentially following the global ease of lockdown and the partial return of socio-economic activities across the world. African continent equally had a frog-leap increase in the spread of the Coronavirus with Nigeria being among the African countries with the highest number of confirmed cases of Covid-19, trailing behind South Africa, Egypt, and Algeria. The spread of Covid-19 is expected to have significant impact on global economies and by extension, the major African economies as economic activities were originally put on hold to stop the spread of the virus. Borders were closed and global production and supply chains were in a hiatus due to the lockdown as part of containment measures.

It is however debatable if the lockdown was effective in the case of Nigeria even though the measure initially yielded a positive decline in the rate of infection. The reality soon stared Nigerians in the face that the nation could not afford a total lockdown for a long period of time for obvious reasons; the nature of the economy, the manufacturing sector, the service sector such as education/schools, distribution, small scale businesses and people that depend on daily wages being the vulnerable sectors. Furthermore, the window of government interventions was limited and inadequate. President Buhari was reported to have requested Nigerians to abide strictly by COVID-19 protocols as the country cannot afford a fresh lockdown. The total lockdown that lasted five weeks caused Nigeria's GDP to suffer

a 34.1 percent loss, amounting to USD 16 billion, with two-thirds of the losses coming from the services sector, according to IFPRI's COVID-19 lockdown are imposing substantial economic costs on countries in Africa.

Assessing the impact of the virus on the growth and development rate for 2020 in the African continent, the World Bank projected that the top four economies in Africa which are Nigeria, South Africa, Egypt, and Algeria had a record growth at the following rate; -3.22%, +1.5%, +5.8%, and +1.9% respectively. From this statistics, Nigeria can be seen to be the most affected economy among the major African economies with the worst growth prospect for the year 2020. The restriction of movement within the country, closure of borders to her neighbouring countries and the rest of the world at the first wave of Covid-19 pandemic rapidly crippled the normal economic activities, and supply chains across the world. The Nigerian government's decision in this regard cannot be condemned as it was necessary at that time.

5.1 Fall in Oil Demand and Price

It is no longer a thing of secret that the COVID-19 pandemic hit hard on the global oil market, commodity market, stock market and global economy generally. Oil export has remained the mainstay of the Nigerian economy, with Nigeria over depending on oil revenue. Oil revenue accounted for 2.64tn of expected revenue as per Nigeria's 2020 budget while other non-oil revenue contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ratio is very low. It therefore means that any slight shock in the global oil market will make Nigeria's revenue generation vulnerable and that is exactly what happened with the outbreak of the pandemic. The global oil prices dropped by 55% between the months of December 2019 to March 2020 which is the worst of its kind in many years past. This no doubt is one of the worst economic shocks that Nigeria and many other oil producing countries faced in 2020. By mid-March 2020, the price of crude oil dipped to \$29.62/barrel. This adversely affected the Nigerian 2020 budget which pegged oil prices at US\$57/barrel and production at 2.18 million barrels per day. Although the global oil prices are picking up gradually, the decline in expected revenue from oil per month has distorted many developmental plans and financing of many other businesses of the government.

Unfortunately, other non-oil sectors of the Nigerian economy that could have complemented the economic shocks in the global oil sector are equally affected. Agricultural, mining, and manufacturing

sectors were adversely affected and could not hold back the hands of the clock to prevent the Nigerian economy from falling into recession. As part of the downside of this development, there is little money at the disposal of the federal government to fund the health sector that seriously needs huge intervention to address the inadequate infrastructural development, and likely high cost of healthcare among other impacts. The good news here is that global oil prices are picking up gradually, with crude oil prices soaring higher on 21 August 2020, on track for the third consecutive week of gains. This has been triggered by OPEC+'s efforts to cut down on crude oil output, coupled with growing concerns over the global economic recovery from the COVID-19-induced recession.

5.2 Covid-19 Pandemic and Nigerian GDP Growth Rate and other Sectors

The Coronavirus pandemic impacts negatively on the Nigerian GDP growth rate. The effect of the pandemic crippling the economic activities in Nigeria resulted in sluggish growth rate as earlier observed. In the first quarter of 2020, the Nigerian economy recorded a growth of +1.87% which is not impressive because this is a serious cut in the Nigerian GDP growth which will eventually lead to economic contraction in 2020 and beyond with the GDP likely to fall further by two to three percentage points. This is the cost of lockdown as a measure to contain the spread of Covid-19.

With regard to Debt to GDP (debt ratio to the total output of the economy, i.e. overall income), Debt to Revenue (debt ratio to current income which is most rational and globally used), and a Revenue to GDP ratio; Nigeria in the Covid-19 era recorded the highest amount of Debt to GDP ratio (17.5), Debt to Revenue ratio (61.4 note: this shows that Nigerian debt portfolio is not sustainable), and Revenue to GDP ratio (7.8). Thus, Nigeria's debt continues to increase unabated. For instance, as of December 2019, Nigerian total debt stock stood at N27.4trn (N21.7trn owed by the Federal Government and N5.6trn owed by different state governments). These are indications of a Nigerian economy on the verge of macroeconomic crisis/instability and eventual economic recession.

5.3 Pressure on the Naira

The Nigerian economy is gradually falling into recession following the outbreak of the Coronavirus. This development is expected to affect the exchange rate of Naira to USD and other dominant international currencies. According to the UNDP Report Brief #1, March 24, 2020, the Naira has

depreciated by 1.0% since Mid-February 2020 with even a large depreciation of the Naira expected from the informal sector/market. It is instructive to note that remittance is another huge contributor to Nigeria's foreign earning. The economies of the developed nations from which remittances are made are also badly affected by the outbreak of the pandemic with a lot of jobs disappearing and shrinking financial transactions. The phenomenon of job losses is a global thing, and this could lead to further social problems as the pandemic persists.

5.4 Selected Macroeconomic Policy Responses

In response to the shocks of the Covid-19 pandemic on the Nigerian economy, the Federal Government took some macroeconomic policy responses to address the situation. Below are selected macroeconomic policy responses:

- Fiscal Policy Responses:
 - N984 million contingency fund released to Nigeria's Centre for Disease Control (NCDC);
 - N6.5 Billion released for medical consumables including testing kits, opening of isolation centres and training of medical personnel;
 - Review of 2020 budget and a cut in capital spending by N1.5 trillion;
 - Provision of N500 billion fiscal stimulus package to support healthcare facilities, relief to tax payers and incentive to employers;
 - Introduction of import duty waivers for pharmaceutical firms;
- Monetary and Macro-financial:
 - Maintenance of current monetary policy rate (MPR) by CBN;
 - Reduction of interest rates on all applicable CBN interventions;
 - Introduction of one year moratorium on CBN intervention facilities;
 - Creation of a N50 billion targeted credit facility;
 - Injection of N3.6 trillion liquidity into the banking system;
 - N1 trillion support to the agricultural sector to prevent food shortages; and
 - N120 billion private sector special intervention initiative.
- Exchange Rate and Balance of Payment:
 - Adjustment of the official exchange rate by 15% and
 - Unification of various exchange rates under the investors and exporters window;

6. Repositioning the Nigerian Economy in Covid-19 Era; the Way Forward

The occurrence of the Covid-19 pandemic and its devastating impact has brought to the fore the susceptibility and vulnerability of the Nigerian economy especially in the period of emergencies. It also underscores the fragility of our economy which has been characterised as a resource-dependent economy (not a knowledge and creative driven economy) or better still as a mono-product economy. The challenges of Covid-19 generally taught the developing economies of which Nigeria is one, the need to reposition their economies to be less-dependent and self-sustaining. The pandemic exposed Nigeria's infrastructural deficit and lack of comprehensive data of her population, demography for national planning, and fragile nature of our healthcare sector. Nigeria as a matter of urgent concern should take bold policy initiative to develop strong infrastructural facilities to sustain and support the nation especially during the period of emergencies.

The global economy has presently dipped into recession and it may take a while to bounce back to normal. Nigeria can only navigate through these public health and economic crisis by repositioning the focus of her economy. The CBN Governor emphasised the imperativeness of repositioning the Nigerian economy beyond Covid-19 when he observed thus:

"...as a nation, we cannot afford to continue relying on the world for our food, education, and healthcare. The time has come to fully transform Nigeria into a modern, sophisticated, and inclusive economy that is self-sufficient, reward the hardworking, but protects the poor and vulnerable, and can compete internationally across a range of strategic sectors." Repositioning the Nigerian economy is a matter of hard policy choice and priority. Therefore, the quest to reposition the Nigerian economy in the Covid-19 era and beyond is expected to be tailored along the following economic reform agenda and policy choices as suggested by economic experts.

6.1 Building High Quality Infrastructure to Support Industrial Activities

Quality infrastructure is essential to engender rapid industrial activities and economic development. A conducive infrastructure especially adequate power supply, affordable digital access (increased internet data penetration and a reduction in the cost of data and other telecommunication service charge), and good transportation (rail, road, and sea) are enablers of industrialisation. These infrastructures are very

critical enablers for big and small firms and businesses to access and compete in domestic and foreign markets. As stated above, the Covid-19 pandemic exposed the vulnerability of the Nigerian economy due to poor infrastructural facilities. As part of measures to reposition the economy, Nigeria needs to make a bold policy decision and commit to the development of quality infrastructure to broaden trade and investment opportunities, while boosting productivity and innovation.

6.2 Provision of loans and credit to Small Scale Businesses for revitalisation of the economy

Government must make provision for loans and credit guarantees with limited conditions to rejuvenate the private sector of the economy. There is need for government to intensify effort towards creating enabling environment for small businesses to thrive to reduce the cost of doing business by SMSEs which is currently very high. This will increase productivity and output, thereby creating new jobs and preserving the existing ones. Such financial assistance may be provided by the Nigerian government through the CBN. Although such funds may be sourced from bodies like IMF, European Investment Bank as loans, it is advisable to avoid taking external loans in view of the existing debt burden.

6.3 Strengthening of monetary transmission through viable macroeconomic policy

The pandemic had already created serious public health emergency and global economic downturn with Nigeria recording higher human and economic costs. To reduce the vulnerability of citizens and the economy because of the Covid-19 pandemic, a viable macroeconomic policy is imperative to strengthen Nigeria's monetary transmission and fiscal space and increase the fiscal multipliers. As such, to reposition the economy will require solid macroeconomic policies and stability (stable inflation rate, stable exchange rate, low unemployment, and increase in real income, i.e., increase in purchasing power of money) which is the cornerstone of any successful effort to promote private sector development and economic growth. This is the best way to go as agreed upon by many experts in repositioning our economy in the Covid-19 era and beyond.

Successful macroeconomic policies will in the long run address the problem of poverty because without macroeconomic stability, domestic and foreign investors will stay away. The repositioning of the Nigerian economy along macroeconomic policies

will mean that Nigeria must reverse the present economic instability due to the trade shocks and reversal of capital flow (e.g. importation of intermediate goods such as equipment, tools, machineries, etc. some of which Nigeria is capable of producing locally) caused by the pandemic. The proposed macroeconomic policy here is expected to provide stable economic environment that is conducive to fostering strong and sustainable economic growth.

6.4 Diversification of the Economy

The current pandemic should be seen as an opportunity to reposition the Nigerian economy through diversification and limitation of our dependence on external funding and goods. Thus, solid minerals as well as the agricultural sector of the economy should be given priority to complement revenue generation from the oil sector which is now at a low ebb. This is the time to give support to large scale agricultural production in selected staple and cash crops such as cocoa, coffee, rubber, groundnut, soya beans, palm oil etc. Other value-added sector (processing and service sub-sector of the economy) and especially the manufacturing industries should be strengthened.

In furtherance to the above objective, the CBN has released a short-term (0-12 months) and medium-term (0-3 years) policy priorities for repositioning the Nigeria economy in the Covid-19 era and beyond. These include:

6.4.1 Short-term (0-12 months) Policy Priorities:

Financial support to the manufacturing sector through expansion of interventions;

Banks and private equity firms proposed to finance home-grown and sustainable healthcare services to reverse medical tourism out of the country;

Establishment of InfraCo PLC, a world class infrastructure development vehicle, with combined debt and equity take-off capital of N15 trillion to build transport infrastructure for moving agricultural products to processors, raw materials to factories, and finished goods to markets;

Prioritisation of the provision of FX for the importation of machinery and critical raw materials needed to drive a self-sufficient Nigerian economy.

6.4.2 Medium-term (0-3 years) Policy Priorities

The policy focus here will target four main areas in repositioning the Nigerian economy in the Covid-19 era and beyond, namely: light manufacturing,

affordable housing, renewable energy, and cutting-edge research.

Note also that the much expected African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) holds some promise in achieving this goal through cross border trade and elimination of tariffs over a five to eight year period for 90% of goods to promote trade and services between African countries.

6.4.3 Increasing Tax Revenue through expansion of tax base

Tax is another very strong source of government revenue generation as it contributes significantly to the country's GDP. Unfortunately, the tax revenue-to-GDP ratio is very low in Nigeria (less than 10%) when compared to OECD (25%). The implication of this is that Nigeria is not utilising this source of revenue generation in developing her economy and meeting other social needs and infrastructural development. The Covid-19 economic shocks led to about 50% fall in oil prices which made 2020 budget vulnerable with government forced to review the 2020 benchmarks. To reposition the Nigerian economy in the Covid-19 era and beyond especially with the uncertainties and volatilities in global oil prices, there is an urgent need to mobilise non-oil tax revenue.

Thus, increasing tax revenue requires expanding the tax base. Unfortunately, very few people and organisations contribute to tax revenue in Nigeria, with 1-7% of taxpayers contributing 75.4% of total tax revenue in Nigeria according to the African Tax Outlook. These are mostly big corporate organisations and waged workers. Repositioning the Nigerian economy in the Covid-19 era and beyond will require capturing of small firms in the tax net which is very crucial for the rejuvenation of the economy.

7. Re-energising the local supply chain and production network

Cost of transportation of goods from one point (supply point) to another (demand point) especially farm produce, and finished goods is increasing by the day in Nigeria thereby driving up the cost of both intermediate and finished goods. This is not a good development because such cost will eventually weaken the economy. To address this problem, it is suggested that government should consider the idea of public private partnership to strengthen the transportation system in Nigeria. Another important sector that needs to be addressed to boost the economy is the communication sector which is today

dominated by foreign investors. This must have contributed to the disturbing high cost of communication in Nigeria. Without affordable access to telecommunication services in Nigeria, the government's digitalisation of the economic policy especially the cashless policy will be badly hampered.

High cost of telecommunication will adversely affect the service sector of the economy such as banks, financial institutions, technology, entertainment industry, and social services (health and education). For now, telecommunication sector of Nigerian economy is dominated by foreign investors. To reposition the economy, there is need to put in place some regulatory measures to control the cost of communication and encourage or mandate local participation through mandatory joint venture to reduce repatriation of profit.

The supply and production network of the Nigerian economy is presently very fragile and weak. The much-touted talk about going back to farm policy needs to be rejuvenated. The number of people in the agricultural sector is very low and this affects the production of food and is a threat to food security. Lagos-Kebbi Lake rice initiative is a good model. One wonders, why do Niger and Benue states not cooperate in the mass production of tubers especially yam?

8. Conclusion

The phenomenon of the Covid-19 pandemic is a wake-up call to both the Nigerian people and the government, of the need to be self-reliant economically, and the need for the improvement of the healthcare system towards the provision of basic quality healthcare to Nigerians. The pandemic has also revealed the urgent need for restructuring and revitalization of our healthcare infrastructure as well as repositioning of our economy notwithstanding the waves of recession suffered by the Nigerian economy during this period. Nigeria is therefore implored to take advantage of the misfortunes caused by the pandemic and make the Post-Covid-19 era an opportunity to rediscover the potential of Nigeria as a country destined to be great.

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Crime Fighting In Akwa Ibom Communities Since 1999

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Abstract. The increasing rate of crime in rural communities in Akwa Ibom state since 1999 resulted in a response by both formal and informal through human mechanisms to detect and prevent crimes in the state. The article, using mainly a qualitative approach, attempts to examine the functionalities of combined effort of police and people-oriented mechanisms and structures in fighting crime in the state. Findings indicate that high theft cases common in most thirty one local government communities of the state were combated using the mechanisms of vigilante, age grade groups and community policing. It also observed that the use of these mechanisms aided reduction and prevention of crime in the state since 1999. It concludes that effective control and crime prevention in Akwa Ibom communities is a function of increased police-public partnership.

Keywords: Akwa Ibom Communities, Vigilantism, Crime prevention, Community Policing, Youths

1. Introduction

Between 1999 and 2019 there have been several reported cases of crimes across several communities in Akwa Ibom state. This worrisome development, which had claimed lives and property stimulated stakeholders in the state and the Akwa Ibom state police command to consider the idea of state policing initiative. Despite the proactive disposition of the Akwa Ibom state government alongside that of the Nigeria police in the state expressed through drastic efforts that have yielded very significant results geared toward crime fighting, there has, however, been increase, on daily basis, the number of youths and older individuals paraded for several crime offenses leading to the over-crowdedness of the prison in the state.

In their effort to go to curb the increasing figures and bring crimes under control since 1999, the police and the government of Akwa Ibom devised three

important crime fighting initiatives during these years. These patterns which are primed as a more proactive technique toward crime prevention and reduction, has necessitated an academic study to document their functionality and impact in crime fighting effort of the Nigerian Police in Akwa Ibom State since 1999. Arising from this development, the study attempts to examine the impact of the measures and strategies deployed in crime prevention in Akwa Ibom since 1999. This gap, as far as literature review in the case of Akwa Ibom have shown is yet to be critical understudied to help highlight some of the grey areas that could be responsible for the nature of crime and crime prevention in the state. More so, the research seeks to indicate whether these crime prevention strategies has been properly implemented to carry along both police officers and the communities across the entire 31 Local Government Areas (LGA) in Akwa Ibom State. Therefore, from this setting, this research is a scholarly attempt to venture into a historical evaluation based on the obvious gap in knowledge on the Crime Preventive mechanisms in Akwa Ibom State. It will employ the much-available pieces of evidence to carry out the set task covering the period between 1999 and 2019.

2. Methodology of the Study

This research adopts the historical and interdisciplinary method. On the aspect of historical method, the sub-set, descriptive and analytical approach is considered as its writing style. The methods adopted were deemed suitable as it will inject both historical analyses and borrowing certain conceptual framework from other discipline to help buttress phenomenon best explained outside historical milieu. Moreover, the research depends on the use of both-primary-and-secondary sourced evidence. Primacy sources include: oral interview, correspondences, police dairies, among others details contemporaneous with the events to be explained.

constraint this research from conducting an aspect that has already been articulated. The focus of this research, however, with regards to the profile of the land and the people would commence from 1987 when the people presenting occupying the territory was granted a long-sought statehood by the then military regime of Gen. Ibrahim B. Badamosi on the 23rd of September 1987 (Monday, 2010:19). With the creation of Akwa Ibom State, the people became political and administratively detached from Cross River state. Becoming one of the 36 states in Nigeria by 1996, the state becomes the highest in terms of crude oil and gas production in Nigeria (Noah, 1996:23).

The state is made up of 31 Local Government Areas which are Abak, Eastern Obolo, Eket, Esit Eket, Essien Udim, Etim Ekpo, Etinan, Ibeno, Ibese, Ikot Asutan, Ibiono Ibom, Ika, Ikono, Ikot Abasi, Nsit-Ibom, Nsit-Ubium, Obot Akara, Okobo, Onna, Oron, Oruk Anam, Ukanafun, Udung uko, Urue-Offong/Oruko, and Uyo. These 31 LGAs are divided down into three senatorial districts (Uyo, Ikot Ekpene and Eket).

Between 1987 when Akwa Ibom State was created, and 1999 which is the originating chronology for this work, the state has come under both democratically and military governance. Akwa Ibom State has had three consecutive governors: His Excellencies Obong (Arc.) Victor Attah (1999-2007), Chief Goodwill Akpabio (2007-2015), and Mr. Emmanuel G. Udom since 1999. Each of these administrations had flourished on the basic of well-structured democratic setting that has both the legislative and judicial arms as complementary functionaries. Coupled to those is the State Civil Service Commission (SCSC), which drives government policies within the state.

Since 1999, all three past governments have done everything within their capacity to ensure that the NPF gets the support it needs in order to approach crime-fighting from a more-effective perspective. Ideally, the need for community policing has continued to reverberate across these administrations. This is obviously based on the fact that crime across the communities in all 31 LGAs are taking multiple-new dimensions such as cultism, political assassinations, among other violent crimes.

3.2 Vigilantism and Crime Fighting in Akwa Ibom

Of course, there is no gainsaying that long before the institutionalization of constitutional-oriented security agencies, communities scattered across the length and breadth of Nigeria had devised means of keeping

their communities safe, especially from sporadic crimes and criminality. Some of these strategic methods have been described either as ‘hunter-guards system, or the ‘night guard system,’ which has its roots in the socio-cultural fabric of the society (Fourchard, 2020). However, as colonial rule sets in, both – night guard and hunter-guards – systems came to be known as vigilantism. The conceptualization of vigilantism is quite enigmatic in nature even among scholars of security studies. This is, however, not suggestive of the fact that it cannot be conceptualized.

Despite the fact that the term vigilante and vigilantism have acquired a revived interest especially within the framework of African security literature, Michael I. Fleisher (2000:209) muses that there is a lacuna as to what consensus exist among scholars concerning the conceptualization of vigilantism and its ostentatious relationship to securitization of the state. This is because of the complexities associated with the term vigilantism where it has been used to represent various compositions such as: “movements [of] white farmers in the 1910s and the 1920s Orange Free state in South Africa (Murray, 1989: 107),” “anti-thieves and anti-witches organizations in Bugisu district in Ouganda in the 1960s”, (Heald, 1986) “anti-cattle raiding movements in Tanzania in the 1980s and 1990s”, (Abrahams, 1987) “state sponsored groups fighting ANC members in the 1980s South Africa, (Heyson, 1986)” “or political militia with an ethnocentric and strong religious agenda such as the Mungiki in Nairobi, (Anderson, 2002)” “or the Oodua People’s Congress (OPC) in South-western Nigerian cities (Akinyele, 2001)

Whatever be the case, it has been argued that vigilante groups “interrogates the relationships between the society and law enforcement (Fourchard, 2020)” And it is in this context that we shall explicate upon the role of vigilante in conducting some levels of securitization of the communities across Akwa Ibom State, especially since 1999. However, the history of vigilante groups in Akwa Ibom State is embedded in the trajectories of the people’s socio-cultural and political histories, which span several decades before 1999, which is the originating chronology for this research.

Moreso, it is pertinent to note that what is known as vigilante in contemporary times metamorphosed in varying stages, beginning with the age-grade system and thereafter into the hunter-guard or night-guard system. Quite a number of scholars have shed light on varying issues relating to the age-grade system,

securitization of community and the socio-economic and political advancement of the Akwa Ibom region. Some of the landmark works in that respects include those of: Monday Abasiattai, (1987) Monday Noah (1990), E. Ukpong (2009), Uwem J. Akpan (2018). Fundamentally, these works demonstrate in a historical sense, the functionality of the age-grade in not just on issues of security, but also in carrying out the judgments of the socio-political class. Uwem J. Akpan elaborately shows the functions of age-grades in Ibibioland. E. Ukpong gave a more definitive and deep-rooted exploration of the age-grade system in Ibibioland, and to some extent other lands, presently in Akwa Ibom State. His summation was that Age-grade played numerous roles from helping to educate, support, as well as enforce the judicial outcomes passed by the political elites on offenders.

In spite of the robust body of literature that has proffer us with immeasurable insights on the role of the age-grade in the securitization of societies, not much have explored the role of hunter-guard in securitization of South-south pre-colonial Nigeria. The reason for such paucity could be due to the fact that it was not officially a recognized form of security, or as Fourchard reminds us “the movement [hunter-guard or night-guard] was initially unofficial before being authorized by the colonial administration during World War II (Fourchard, 2020)” Nonetheless, oral tradition suggest that long before the emergence of the Nigerian police, several forms of security were employed to guard societies. Their position, though not clearly stated found supportive base Tamuno Tekena’s (1987) argument that “hunters from the country [Akwa-Cross River region inclusive] were often used as night guards...in the 19th century before being forbidden by the British administration.” Therefore, from this perspective, it can be said that the hunter-guard system was an effective security strategy used in curbing crimes in pre-colonial and early colonial Nigeria. It could be that its operation then was not in line with colonial interest, and as such was systematic brought to an end, since the NPF has been established by the British colonial government.

The emergence and existence of vigilantism, or vigilante groups as it has been in Akwa Ibom state, especially since 1999 cannot be unconnected from what has been discussed in the preceding paragraphs. Kiale Nyiayaana (2015:131) espouses the view that “...neither British colonial rule nor the postcolonial administration in Nigeria completely destroyed the well-established community security structures in the Niger Delta especially vigilante structures and practices. Instead, vigilante groups became

entrenched in the political, social and leadership structure of several communities in the region particularly after the Cold War.” In fact, vigilantes has as David Pratten (2008) notes, “have been a popular local response to theft, armed robbery and threats to security – from rural lineage to urban street, right across the country [Nigeria]. Such narrative confirms the fact that since the twentieth century, the role of vigilantes – not in their militia state – has been a formidable force to reckon with in terms of crime prevention and crime fighting as well. Thus, majority of the evidence that forms the bulk of vigilantism and crime prevention and fighting in Akwa Ibom State will be addressed through the dense trove of oral interviews collected during field work.

First, there is the Vigilante Group of Nigeria (VGN), whose presence in Akwa Ibom is well-established. Though, a voluntary self-disciplined security outfit financed by good-spirited individuals, the vigilante group has tentacles in all 31 Local Government Areas of Akwa Ibom State. The VGN has since its inception in 1999 collaborated with the various security agencies (Spencer & Mararo, 2020) to coordinate the fight against crimes and criminality in Akwa Ibom State. The VGN has an office situated along the Industrial Layout by Champion Breweries, Uyo. The group has collaborated with the police and other security agencies in the state to fighting crimes (Essang, 2018). There are numerous instances where the group has had to foil one crime or the other. According to an informant, the VGN has combined effort with the NPF to conduct a well-structured community policing scheme that has led to a drastic reduction in crimes in the whole of Uduakpan Village in Essien Udim Local Government Area (Etokakpan, Personal Communication, June 23 2020).

Moreso, beyond the VGN, which is more structured, several communities – who felt that the NPF is far from them – had established unstructured vigilante groups to tackle issues of insecurity during the heighten fear of crime wave in Akwa Ibom State since 1999. As Chief Edet Offiom notes, there is hardly any community or village one would enter without the presence of vigilante, who are always out from 10pm to 5am to ensure that people sleep with their two eyes closed. In most cases these vigilante group are paid certain agreed amount of money as salary (Offiom, Personal Communication, 2020).

Corroborating the above, elder Ubong Utuk recounted how since 2007, when the crime rate in Urua Ikpa increased, the various villages across Mbiaku Itam 1 has employed the services of vigilante groups to keep watch so as to reduce crime in the

vicinities (Akpan, Personal Communication, June 15, 2020). One point to note is that prior to when these vigilante groups commence duties, they are registered with NPF through the closest divisional headquarters. This is to help avoid situation where there might be mistaken identity and intent on the part of police officers who might be on patrol during the thick of the night. Moreso, it is interesting to note that these vigilante groups set up by the villages are often encouraged by even the NPF since there is an obvious shortfall in manpower within the NPF, (Akpan, Personal Communication, June 15, 2020) and setting up vigilante groups across the state will go a long way to curbing the wave of criminality across the state. From this perspective, it apt to state that vigilantism as an art of securitization has been useful in the fight against crime in Akwa Ibom State even since 1999.

3.3 The Role of the Village Council (*Ekpuk*) in Crime fighting

Village council (*Ekpuk*) played very significant role in the fight against crime. Such roles range from liaising with the appropriate security agencies, disseminating security information to all members of the village, consulting with the government on the one hand, and the NPF on the other hand, whenever any security challenge arose. The village council is the highest socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-judicial body in the village, and is typically made up of various family heads. Since the village council has all family heads in it, it is assumed to be the closets unit to every member of a village. In most cases, critical decisions are reached at the village council and same is passed down to every family in the village either through the family head, or through a more general medium – town crier – in order to incorporate both indigenous and host population.

It is an established fact that no vigilante group in any part of Akwa Ibom State can function properly without the backing of the Village Council. Several cases abound where some youth decided to use their positions as vigilante to abuse and harass those who they were ordinarily in the first place watch over. In such cases, the village-councils are always swift to issue out stern warnings and in a situation where such warnings are not taken seriously, such vigilante groups are disbanded with immediate effect (Akpan, Personal Communication, June 16, 2020). Should their warning and disbandment be taken for-granted, the village council involved the necessary authorities to handle the issue. However, on a different note, village councils have shown to be proactively involved in crime fighting through socio-cultural

medium. For instance, in Oron, the need to stamp out the menace of cultism became a task that must be accomplished by all means given the wanton abuses and lives that had been lost to such youthful violent crime. After all effort had been employed to no avail, the village council converged and decided to put the *Olughu*. The *Olughu* deity was “used to detect crime, settle disputes between individuals and families and enforce village norms through rituals and punishment of offenders.” (Okon, 2019). Thus, the village council rose up to the occasion before it and positioned the *Olughu* at every strategic junction across Oron nation. It was reported that some recalcitrant youths (cultism) who attempted to conduct their nefarious activities were struck dead at the spot, and their death forced many others from fleeing Oron (Ekong, Personal Communication, February 12, 2020).

Outside the outskirts of Oron, there are cases where village council had to enforce security measures through African traditional spiritism. In Urua Ikpa area for instance, the incessant criminality consisting mostly of theft and kidnapping, conducted by youths between 2007 and 2014, defied the concerted efforts of the NPF, and thus, in some crucial cases, the *Ibiam* deity became the last resort employed by the village council in a bid to curb the rate of crime within the vicinity. Recalling such a scenario, an informant stated that in 2011, when there was an upsurge of kidnapping cases in Akwa Ibom, the village council in Ibiaku Itam 1 had to initiate *Ibiam* to settle certain criminal cases, especially only after numerous warnings had been issued out (Ekong, Personal Communication, February 12, 2020). Moreover, in 2014, the village council in Ikwen had to use traditional spiritism in fighting crime in their locality. Similar trends had been witnessed in Eket, Uruan, Ini, Ikot Ekpene, Ika, among other LGAs in Akwa Ibom State.

4. Community Policing and Crime Fighting

Community policing in Akwa Ibom State recognized the fact that police rarely can solve public safety problems alone, and thus encouraged interactive partnerships with other government agencies and community members/groups. These include individuals who live, work, or otherwise have an interest in the State - volunteers, activists, formal and informal community leaders, residents, visitors and tourists, and commuters - were valuable resource for identifying community concerns. These factions of the community were engaged in achieving specific goals at town hall meetings, neighbourhood association meetings, decentralized offices/storefronts in the community, and team beat

assignments. The range of potential partners is large, and these partnerships were used to accomplish the two interrelated goals of developing solutions to problems through collaborative problem solving and improving public trust in the State (Etim, Personal Communication, September 8, 2019). This is of the view that the public should play a role in prioritizing and addressing public safety problems.

One of the significant developments made towards community policing in every part of the State is the adoption of vigilantism. Vigilante groups (Informal Policing Services) are community policing stakeholders; as such they have been fully consulted, briefed and involved in all activities at the pilot Divisions. Many have been fully occupied in joint police-vigilante activities including training events, beat patrol and problem-solving crime prevention initiatives. This improved consultation and cooperation resulted in reduced violence, crimes, road fatalities and injuries and improved quality of life in Akwa Ibom State.

Vigilante groups as security outfits in the State were mostly composed of volunteers, operating under the mandate of communal consensus to fight crime. As the waning capacity of the police could not curtail the rising trend of urban violence and crime, communal policing or vigilante were created and registered to protect the neighbourhoods. The groups have been seen in areas like Uyo, Itu, Ibiono, Abak, etc. (ibid). According to ASP Effiong Bassey, vigilantism is a category of non-state or self-policing. It is characterized by reactive *ad hoc* and often violent methods of crime control (Bassey, Personal Communication September 27, 2020). A vigilante is a group of committed people at the micro level of the community, set up to collate information on suspected criminals in its area, for use by the police in the detection and prevention of crime. It is often made up of landlords, tenants, community associations and leaders of the neighborhood, who keep watch over their area and report suspicious people to the police (ibid). Vigilante groups are largely informal and composed of volunteers and are largely funded through communal contributions. Contributions are insignificant and often irregular compared to the risks vigilante are exposed.

The resurgence of modern vigilante groups in Akwa Ibom State was closely associated with the disproportionate increase in the rise of urban crimes and conflicts in places like Uyo, Itu, Ibesikpo, Abak, Etim Ekpo, Ikot Ekpene, Ikot Abasi, Oron, etc. The inability of the police to tame the rising menace of the urban gangs led to the proliferation of vigilante

groups in the State. In the early 1990s, vigilante groups were formed in almost all the local government within the State. In the State, vigilante groups served as a community security and were composed of ward heads, community elders, religious leaders, wealthy individuals and heads of households. Vigilante groups were practiced in three main forms: traditional vigilante groups; neighbourhood watch; and neighbourhood security committee (ibid).

In a bid to activate and strengthen community security, the NPF has continued to enhance its cooperation with various vigilante groups scattered across the whole 31 local government areas of Akwa Ibom State (ibid). Supporting the view of the present PPRO, the immediate past PPRO, Akwa Ibom State, DSP. Odiko Macdon Ogbeche affirms that the Akwa Ibom State Police Command had established a strategic framework to build a network of community policing across the entire 31 LGAs in Akwa Ibom. This strategy laid greater emphasis on the use of community vigilante groups constituted by community leaders and thereafter screened by the NPF to ensure that those making up the vigilante groups are not themselves criminal elements (Ogbeche, Personal Communication, June 20, 2020). Beyond the idea of screening members of vigilante groups, the NPF Akwa Ibom State Command also conduct trainings for the vigilante groups. This is to ensure that they (members of vigilante groups) do understand the rules of engagement, and do not take laws into their own hands. In tactical angle, they are taught the rudiments of civil security. This denotes the strategic implementation during their operations in their respective bits (locations) (Adio, Personal Communication, June 11, 2020).

To ensure that these groups conduct their activities within the stipulated guidelines, the NPF, Akwa Ibom State Command has continued to liaise with not just these vigilante groups, but with the various village, clan and paramount leadership structures. An effective securitization of any societies cannot be achieved if every member of the community is not carry along. These traditional socio-political institutions are saddled with the responsibility of appointing, screening and vouching for those that make up the groups to some extent. This, however, does not stop the NPF from doing the needful – double checking and individual profiling. The idea of profiling entails that every person that makes the vigilante groups must have undergone series of intense checks to make sure that such individuals does not have any criminal records. Since the NPF would not want to have any person with questionable character to be a part of a team that is set to fight

crimes and criminality (Essien, Personal Communication, July 3, 2020)

Since 2012, community vigilante became more involved in confronting youth gangs that use drugs and commit crimes including abduction of young girls. Community vigilante groups assist the police in suppressing criminal activities of kidnapping young girls. Burglaries, duping, raping and kidnapping of children were on the increase and so vigilante groups were formed in all parts of the State through security committees that involved ward heads. The ward heads mobilized volunteers to organize and register vigilante groups in their communities (ibid). Although, not all parts of the State have adopted this initiative. The sudden population increase with the scanty ratio of the community members and the police force made it impossible to cope with crime upsurge in the State. To fill the gap, people formed vigilante groups. The primary reason for setting them up was to protect the people from incessant raids by armed robbers in their neighbourhoods. Local communities across the State have created their own informal or sometimes formal structures to ensure the security of the population. These groups have usually been composed of individuals from the local community. Some of them have derived their credibility, and unofficial authority from the community in which they serve. One of the main purposes of these initiatives was to complement the police in identifying and handing over criminal suspects to the appropriate judicial authorities. They have also sometimes tried to settle other conflicts between individuals in the community (Bassey, Personal Communication, September 8, 20a9).

However, local leaders have on occasion abused their power and used these Vigilante groups for other purposes. The vigilantes rose to the challenge of combating the spiraling crime waves across many communities in the State especially in the early years of democratic transition. Initially there was prevention in crime. However, with time these vigilante groups in most cases deviated from the original purpose for which they were formed to engaging in other activities such settling civil matters, recovering debts, ejecting tenants for landlords and in some cases meddling in husband and wife matters, and serving as ready hands to unleash violence during elections (ibid).

5. Conclusion

Since 1999, Akwa Ibom State, with its long coastline and as an oil producing state within the Niger Delta region – has recorded its own share of crime. This

period has witnessed attempts by the government of Akwa Ibom State, through its police components, and the concerned citizens and people in various communities of the state, to curb crime and criminality via the concepts of community policing, age-grade security measures and vigilantism. Although these concepts are not entirely new within the Akwa Ibom Communities, they are yet to go past rudimentary levels of security and crime prevention given the nature of challenges that impedes best practices.

Going forward in charting a new course and approach to fighting crime in Akwa Ibom communities, the study argues that the community members must be part of the security operations in their community to proactively prevent and control crime through collaborations with the police in community policing, vigilante and other informal means of crime control such as age groups, masquerade etc. in other words, a more people-oriented and community participatory policing style is recommended. Finally, government should introduce and sustain the use of ICT, drones and CCTV in crime prevention and control at the community level (Asiriukwu et al, 2020). This will add value to the crime management strategy in rural communities of Akwa Ibom.

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Economic Discomfort and Wellbeing in Nigeria: Evidence from dynamic ARDL simulation

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Abstract. The United Nations identified improved health and wellbeing as a major goal in the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015. With less than nine years until the SDGs' deadline, however, unemployment and inflation continue to rise, leaving most citizens living on less than a dollar a day. Theoretical and empirical literature show that there are numerous disadvantages associated with economic discomfort. However, empirical findings on the impact of economic discomfort on wellbeing in Nigeria are virtually non-existent. This study contributes to the misery literature by examining the relationship between economic discomfort and wellbeing in Nigeria. This was achieved through the use of novel dynamic autoregressive-distributed lag simulations and Breitung and Candelon (2006) frequency domain granger causality test on data covering the period 1991-2020. The study found that economic discomfort has significant negative long run effect on wellbeing in Nigeria. Also, economic discomfort drives wellbeing and no feedback effect in Nigeria. Therefore, Nigerian government should adopt appropriate policies that will help in reducing the high rate of unemployment and inflation to boost public health improvement and in turn bring effective wellbeing to its populace.

Keywords: Nigeria, wellbeing, economic discomfort, novel dynamic ARDL simulation.

1. Introduction

Governments all over the world (whether socialist or capitalist) are enthralled with the well-being of their citizens. Inherently, state efforts aimed at improving economic and financial sustainability tend to improve the economy and the welfare of its citizens (Adodo, 2022; Cakici, & Zaremba, 2020). However, as Dynan

and Sheiner (2018) point out, it is harder to measure a person's well-being development than of an entire country. Without any doubt, therefore, economic indicators such as GDP and other national wealth indices are recognized as major factors that can determine the financial wellbeing of the economy. As such, several countries have increasingly begun to use happiness indices to assess the efficacy of government policies. For example, Australia, Bhutan, Canada, France, as well as the United Kingdom, utilizes advanced surveys to assess the metric of gross national happiness (GNH) and also to measure the standard of well-being of their citizens (Frasquilho, et al 2015; Okonji & Igbanugo, 2019).

Happiness is important to life, and for one to be happy, it requires a good living standard because we live in a complicated world. (Ubah, et al, 2021). Understanding the importance of happiness, therefore, indicate that people believe their lives are going well. Consequently, wellbeing becomes necessary in every aspect of human life (Joseph, 2020; Lawal, Osinusi, & Bisiriyu, 2021). The importance of wellbeing to public policy and government effectiveness, made the United Nation to include it among the Sustainable Development Goal (SDGs) target by the United Nation. Goal 3 calls for healthy lives and promote well – being for all at all ages. However, many indicators that measure living conditions fail to measure what people think and feel about their lives, such as the quality of their relationships, their positive emotions and resilience, the realization of their potential, or their overall satisfaction with life. Well-being generally includes global judgments of life satisfaction and feelings ranging from depression to joy (Solarin, Gil-Alana, & Lafuente, 2020).

Attaining sustainable development is major target for all countries in the world and since good health and wellbeing are major targets that need to be achieved, governments of countries must put in more efforts to ensure that all efforts towards achieving the goals are not left untouched. However, less than nine years to the end of the SDGs target, Nigeria, which has always been recording low in the misery index, has increased within the last three years. For example, the misery index that was published by Steve Hanke, misery index in 2021 ranked Nigeria sixth (6th) in the world of countries that are most miserable and first in Africa. The major contributory factor has been the continuous increase in the rate of unemployment.

This measure of misery index was also substantiated by the recent report from the World Bank on the issue of poverty, inequality, and wellness.

Nigeria's misery index in 2015 was approximately 18.02 % and rises to approximately 28.73 % in 2016. During these periods, the rate of inflation and unemployment were regarded as the major contributory factor. However, as at 2018, Nigeria was ranked 7th most miserable country in the world and second in Africa after South Africa. As at today, the country is ranked 6th in the world and first in Africa with 43.0 percent. Table 1 below shows the top five African countries that are most miserable

Table 1: Top 5 Miserable countries in Africa

Countries	Misery Index	Contributing Factor	Rank
Nigeria	43	high unemployment rate	1st
South Africa	42	high unemployment rate	2nd
Egypt	36.8	unemployment rate	3rd
Algeria	21.9	Lending rate	4th
Mauritius	17.9	Lending rate	5th

Source: Hanke, misery index 2021

Today, government achievement in any economy can be measures by decreasing economic discomfort which is the addition of inflation plus unemployment. A high rate of misery places any government as not performing effectively. It is a pity that less than nine years to the end of the SDGs target, Nigeria is ranked 6th among countries with the most misery index in the world and 1st in Africa. This situation calls for examining the implication of the economic discomfort of the country on its wellbeing. Therefore, the objective of this paper are as follows: First, to determine the effect of economic discomfort on wellbeing of the Nigerian economy. Second, to investigate the response of wellbeing to shock in economic discomfort and finally to determine the direction of causality between economic discomfort and wellbeing in the country.

The contribution of this paper are as follows. First, the use of dynamic ARDL simulation estimation techniques that can capture the issue of counterfactual shock which no study have used in estimating the relationship between economic discomfort and wellbeing in Nigeria. Second, literature over the years have failed to investigate the issue of economic discomfort and well – being, a gap in which this study try to fill. Third, the use of frequency domain granger causality test developed by Breitung and Candelon (2006) which test causality in frequency instead of time and able to produce

better result for short span series with seasonal and other potential economic episodes in developing countries like Nigeria.

Apart from the introduction, the rest of the paper is structured as follows; section 2 presents the literature review, section 3 presents the data and methodology used for empirical analysis, section 4 presents the results, while section 5 concludes the study and provides policy implications

2. Literature Review

Wellbeing is complex to describe, but even more difficult to quantify. In general, there are two types of wellbeing measures: objective and subjective measures. The first classification assesses happiness using verifiable facts such as social, economic, and environmental facts. Cardinal measures are used to assess people's well-being indirectly. Subjective measures of wellbeing, on the other hand, directly capture people's feelings or real-life experiences (van Hoorn 2007). They assess happiness using ordinal measures. The importance of wellbeing makes it to be included in the definition of health by the World Health Organization (WHO) that defines health as "a condition of complete physical, mental, and social well-being, rather than the absence of sickness or disability. (WHO, 1948). The concept relates health to wellbeing and in line with Ottawa Charter (1986) concept, describing health as "a commodity for daily

life, not the purpose of living." From this viewpoint, health is a means to a happy life. According to Hetschko, Schöb, and Wolf, (2020) sees wellbeing as a state in which people are being comfortable, having good health and happy with the state of their living.

Misery in life refers to the bottom levels of life satisfaction (Fleche and Layard, 2015). However, one of the basic cause of misery is inflation accompanying with unemployment. This is because, an individual that is unemployed will find it difficult to afford the basic needs of life. The worst is seen if the prices of the basic needs are also rising. Rising inflation rate therefore, along with continuous unemployment has been one of the basic issues affecting developing countries in the recent year. According to Arthur Okuns, the combination of the two will produce discomfort in the society. Economic discomfort which is also regarded to as misery index refers to the sum of unemployment rate and the annual inflation rate. (Lovell & Tien, 2000).

Empirical literature over the years have investigated the effect of misery on economic growth, wellbeing, and consumer satisfaction. For example, Rezapour, Ghorbani, Mahmoud, and Faradonbeh, (2020), investigated the implication of the Okun's misery index on out - of -pocket health care system in Iran between 2000 and 2016. The autoregressive distributive lagged (ARDL) model was employed to determine the short and long run impact. Conclusion reached from their study shows that the Okun's misery index has a long run significant effect on the out – of – pocket health care in Iran. Furthermore, feedback causality runs from misery index to out-of-pocket health expenditure.

In Nigeria, the nexus between misery and economic growth was investigated by Ubah, et al (2021). The study takes into consideration the implication on the management of electricity for the period 1987 to 2017. ARDL estimation techniques was employed to determine the effect on the long run basis. Findings from their study revealed that misery dampens economic growth in Nigeria. In the same vein, Ali, Audu and Ronssel (2021) examined the effect of economic misery and urbanization on life expectancy in MENA from 2001 to 2016. Cointegration and causality test was employed. Conclusion reached from the study showed that economic misery reduces life expectancy in the selected countries and stand as a significant factor that determines life expectancy. Reduction in life expectancy led to fall in labour force and hence bring about fall in output.

Wang, et al (2019) in their study on the relationship between financial structure, misery index and economic growth in Pakistan between 1989 to 2017 revealed that, the misery index measured by rate of unemployment and inflation impacted negatively and significant on the Pakistan economic growth during the period under investigation. They however, stated that for Pakistan economy to grow significantly, efforts towards tackling the persistent increase in price and unemployment should be addressed.

Alem and Kohlin (2014) assessed how food price inflation affect the subjective well being in urban area of Ethiopia between 2007 to 2008. Ordered logit regression model estimation techniques was employed on the collected data. Their findings revealed that shock on food price inflation affect subjective wellbeing negatively and it is an important factor that determines the subjective wellbeing of the urban populace in Ethiopia. On the effect of inflation and unemployment on subjective wellbeing, Grandelman and Hernandez-Munillo (2009) examined the implication of both on the subjective wellbeing taking into consideration the individual effect and the country wise effects. Using data gathered from the Gallop World Poll, they concluded that rising unemployment accompanied with excessive inflation rate affect subjective wellbeing negatively.

3. Data and Methodology

3.1 Data

To achieve the study objective, a structured yearly data from Nigeria stretching from 1991 to 2020 is used for empirical analysis. The constructed dataset includes the dependent variable wellbeing (measured by per capita income) as supported (Dyan, & Sheiner, 2018; Conceição & Bandura, 2008). Economic discomfort (unemployment + inflation) is the regressor of interest. Other variables regarded as the determinants of wellbeing are also used as control variable. These include gross fixed capital formation, government consumption expenditure and secondary school enrolment (see Kwark, 2013; Park, Ryu & Lee, 2019). All data for the study were retrieved from the World Bank's world development indicators (WDI) database (<https://databank.worldbank.org/source/world-development-indicators>).

3.2 Model Specification

To empirically investigate the impact of economic discomfort on wellbeing in Nigeria, the following econometric model is specified:

$$LPKY_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 LED_t + \beta_2 LGFK_t + \beta_3 LGEX_t + \beta_4 SSE_t + \varepsilon_t \quad (1)$$

Where LPKY = log of per capita GDP proxy for wellbeing. LED = log of economic discomfort (unemployment rate + inflation rate). LGFK = log of gross fixed capital. LGEX = log of government total final expenditure and LSSE = log of secondary school enrollment. Although the study is to examine the effect of economic discomfort on wellbeing. Gross fixed capital government total final expenditure and secondary school enrollment are added as control variables and stand as major determinants of wellbeing.

3.3 Granger Causality Test

The direction of causality between economic discomfort and wellbeing is another important objective of the study. To determine the pattern of relationship between both in Nigeria, we adopt the Granger causality test in frequency domain developed by Breitung and Candelon (2006). This causality approach builds on the previous works of Granger (1969), Geweke (1982) and Hosoya (1991). The approach is preferred in this study due to the following advantages. First, it is superior to the alternative time domain approaches. Second, it produces better outcomes for short span series with seasonal and other potential economic episodes like ours. Third, it is more suitable for non-linear series, and it is able to reflect causal relations at various frequencies. We thus use this causality test to determine whether a particular component of economic discomfort (LED) at frequency ω serves as a useful predictor of the component of wellbeing (LPKY)' at the same frequency one period ahead.

Following the pattern established by Breitung and Candelon (2006), we placed the linear restrictions on the coefficients of the first component following the autoregressive VAR model (1) to take the form;

$$LPKY_t = \alpha_1 LPKY_{t-1} + \dots + \alpha_p LPKY_{t-p} + \varphi_1 LED_{t-1} + \dots + \varphi_p LED_{t-p} + \varepsilon_{1t} \quad (11)$$

Where for simplicity, the variables α and φ denotes the lag polynomial coefficients and the test hypothesis follows that $M_{LED \rightarrow LPKY}(\gamma) = 0$ equals

the linear restriction. $H_0: R(\gamma)\varphi = 0$. Where $\beta\varphi = [\varphi_1, \dots, \varphi_p]'$ = vector of the coefficients of LED, and $R(\gamma) = \begin{bmatrix} \cos(\gamma) \cos(2\gamma) \dots \cos(p\gamma) \\ \sin(\gamma) \sin(2\gamma) \dots \sin(p\gamma) \end{bmatrix}$.

3.4 Estimation Techniques

The ARDL model of Pesaran, Shin, and Smith (2001) is primarily used in empirical analysis, particularly when dealing with short-run and long-run concerns (Jordan & Philips, 2018). However, there are two significant advantages to using the ARDL method. First, regardless of whether the variables are integrated of order I(0) or order I(1), or whether variables are mutually co-integrated, it can produce accurate findings (Pesaran et al., 2001). The second is based on the notion that, even when some of the independent variables are endogenous, the results of the procedures are usually unbiased (Harris & Sollis, 2003). For these reasons, the ARDL method is recommended for this research. The traditional ARDL technique, however, has two drawbacks. First, when applied to small samples of time series data (time points of 80 and lower), the result frequently suggests that cointegration is absent when in fact it is actually present. Furthermore, the models frequently have complex dynamic structures with multiple lags, coexisting values, first differences, and first differences lags. The short- and long-run effects of the regressors are difficult to comprehend due to their complicated dynamic structure (Jordan & Philips, 2018). Jordan and Philips proposed the dynamic ARDL model to solve the issues posed by the complicated structure of the ARDL. This method is a versatile process for dynamic simulation of various ARDL models. Rather than using traditional hypothesis testing for parameter estimations, dynamic simulations use counterfactual scenarios to report the importance of the results. Changes in the explanatory variable due to changes in an independent variable can likewise be estimated, simulated, and plotted using this method, all things being equal. This innovative method can estimate and simulate changes in the dependent variable caused by a regressor, which is useful for policy formation. The dynamic ARDL model is used in this paper because it can improve the resilience of the standard ARDL model. As shown in Figure 1, based on the Akaike information criteria, the model selected is ARDL (4, 4, 4, 4, 4).

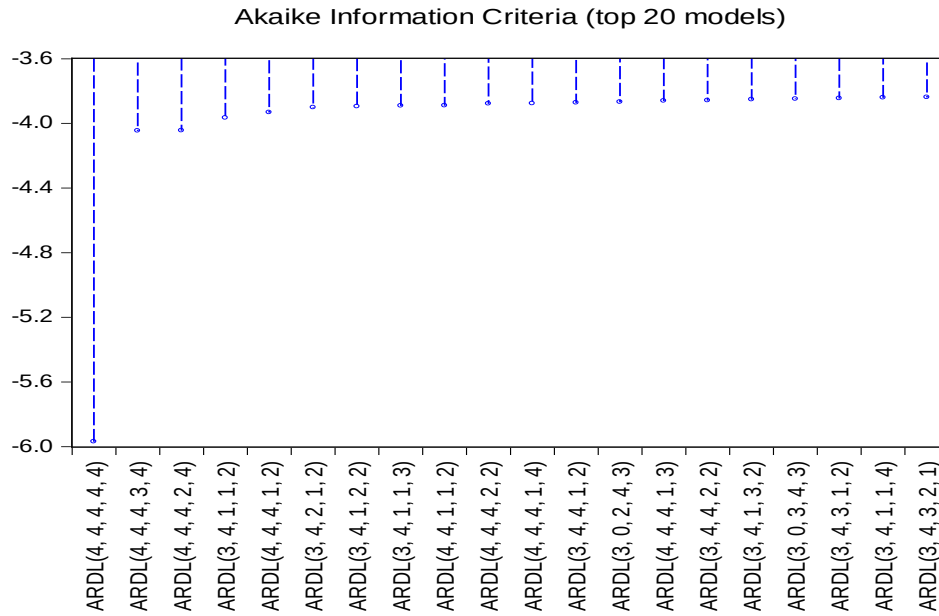


Figure 1: Model selection criteria

Based on Akaike Info Criteria, the novel dynamic ARDL simulations of the econometric models specified in Equations 1 is re - specified in error correction form as follows.

$$\begin{aligned}
 LPKY_t = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 \Delta LPKY_{t-1} + \beta_2 \Delta LPKY_{t-2} + \beta_3 \Delta LPKY_{t-3} + \beta_4 \Delta LPKY_{t-4} + \beta_1 \Delta LED_{t-1} + \beta_2 \Delta LED_{t-2} + \\
 & \beta_3 \Delta LED_{t-3} + \beta_4 \Delta LED_{t-4} + \beta_1 \Delta LGFK_{t-1} + \beta_2 \Delta LGFK_{t-2} + \beta_3 \Delta LGFK_{t-3} + \beta_4 \Delta LGFK_{t-4} + \beta_1 \Delta LGEX_{t-1} + \\
 & \beta_2 \Delta LGEX_{t-2} + \beta_3 \Delta LGEX_{t-3} + \beta_4 \Delta LGEX_{t-4} + \beta_1 \Delta LSSE_{t-1} + \beta_2 \Delta LSSE_{t-2} + \beta_3 \Delta LSSE_{t-3} + \beta_4 \Delta LSSE_{t-4} + \varepsilon_t
 \end{aligned}
 \quad (2)$$

4. Results and Discussion

Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics of the variables used are reported in Table 1. Per capita income which stands as the proxy for wellbeing has minimum of \$270.22million and \$3098.99million maximum value with mean of \$1443.69 million and standard deviation of \$932.82 million. Economic discomfort (inflation + unemployment) has \$9.01 and \$76.67 as minimum and maximum value respectively. The mean value and standard deviation are 22.94 and 16.66 respectively. For government consumption expenditure, the mean value and standard deviation are \$4.54 and \$3.05 respectively. However, the minimum and maximum values are \$0.91 million and \$9.44 million. The mean value for gross fixed capital is \$27.30million. The minimum and maximum values are \$14.17 million and \$48.40 million respectively. This shows that government expenditure in Nigeria over the years has been very low compared to other countries that have similar characteristics with Nigeria. Secondary school enrolment in Nigeria is between the range of 24 million and 56 million between 1991 and 2020.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of variables

Variable	Mean	Std. Devi.	Min	Max
Per capita income	1443.69	932.82	270.22	3098.99
Economic Discomfort	22.94	16.66	9.01	76.67
Gross Fixed capital	27.30	10.74	14.17	48.4
Govt Consumption expenditure	4.54	3.05	0.91	9.44
Secondary School enrolment	34.74	9.63	23.55	56.21

Source: Author 2022

Trend of the Variables

Figure 2 and 3 shows the historical movement of the two variables of interest (economic discomfort and per capita income). In Figure 2, the movement of per capita income is depicted. The graph shows that per capita income in Nigeria increases at a decreasing rate from 1993 to 2007 to a peak and fall in 2008. This marks the period of global

financial crises that affected the stock market. By 2009, per capita income increases more and more until the year 2014 where it gets to its peak and fall drastically in 2015. This period marked the beginning of another democracy which affected wellbeing of the people drastically. On the other hand, Figure 3 shows that from 1991 to 1995, economic discomfort rises in the economy. In fact, as at 1996 it got to a peak. From 1997, there was a decline in the misery of the country, and it affected the economy. Since then, there has been inconsistency in the stability of the economy in terms of the economic misery.

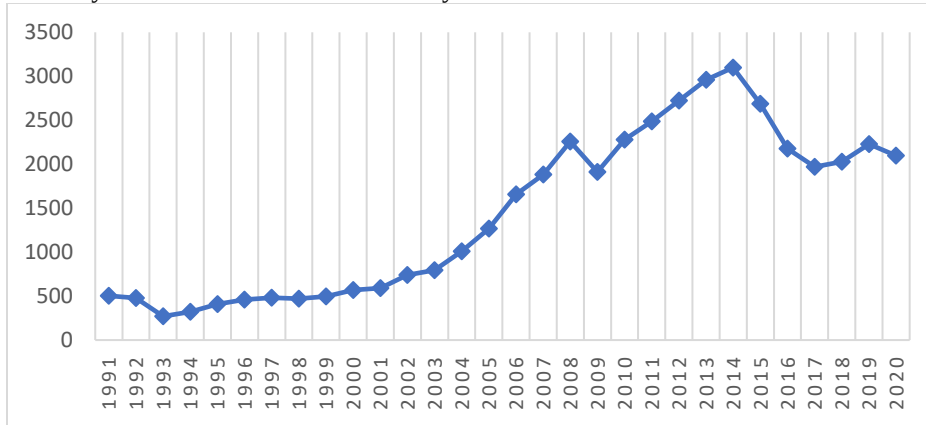


Figure 2: Trend of per capita income in Nigeria

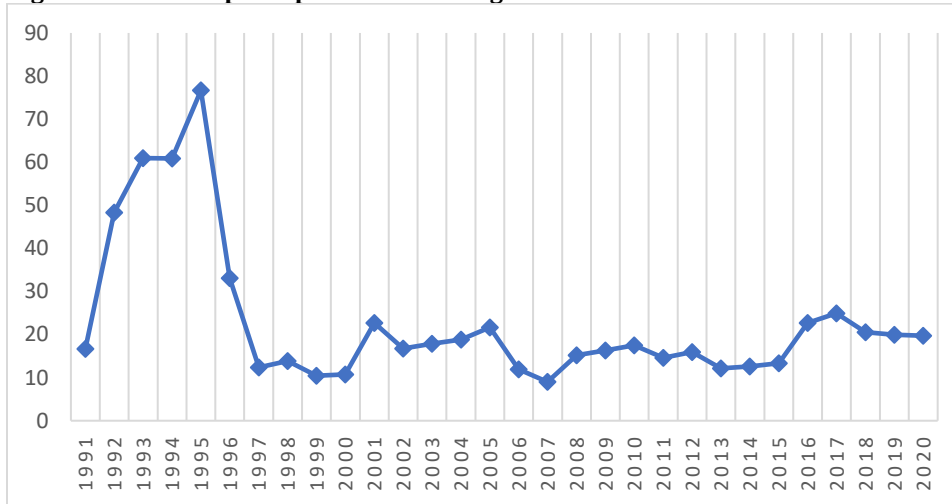


Figure 3: Trend of economic discomfort in Nigeria

Unit Root Test

Before dynamic ARDL simulations may be considered reliable, certain conditions must be met (Sarkodie & Owusu, 2020). First, it is important that the target (dependent) variable must strictly be stationary after first difference. Second, while the regressors can be integrated in a mixed order [I(0) & I(1)], none can be integrated in a higher order than one. Third, cointegration must exist between the dependent and independent variable. To confirm the first and second conditions, the Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) as well as Phillips-Perron (PP) unit root tests were employed. The results for both tests are reported in Table 2. As reported, the dependent variable is strictly stationary at first difference. Also, none of the independent variables are stationary at order higher than one. Hence, the first and second conditions for the use of novel dynamic ARDL is satisfied.

Table 2: Unit root Test Results

Variable	lpky	led	Lgfk	lgex	lsse
ADF	0.732 (0.892)	-2.412 (0.366)	1.080 (0.999)	-1.669 (0.739)	-2.085 (0.532)
Δ ADF	-4.151***	-5.272***	-3.511**	-5.235***	-5.525***

	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.015)	(0.000)	(0.000)
PP	0.733	-2.353	-1.632	-0.803	-1.339
	(0.823)	(0.163)	(0.453)	(0.823)	(0.398)
Δ PP	-4.120***	-5.391***	-3.559**	-5.235***	-5.525***
	(0.004)	(0.000)	(0.014)	(0.000)	(0.000)

Note: **and *** denotes significant at 5% and 10% respectively.

Cointegration Test

The third condition for the use of the novel dynamic ARDL simulation is that the variables under consideration must have a long run relationship. To ensure that the condition is satisfied, the Brock – Dechert – Scheinkman (BDS) and the modified Pesaran, Shin and Smith (2001) bounds tests with Kripfganz and Schneider (2018) critical values that takes into consideration the lower and upper bounds is employed. This technique is known to be superior for identifying the upper and lower bound critical values (Sarkodie & Adams, 2018; Ulucak, 2020). The results for the cointegration tests are reported in Table 3. The F-statistic (BDS = 4.29 and PSS = 179.81) generated by both tests are greater than the upper bound critical value at 5% (4.01) and 1 % (4.61) significance level respectively. This confirms the existence of cointegration between economic discomfort and wellbeing in Nigeria. Therefore, the third condition for the use of the novel dynamic ARDL simulation with counterfactual shock is satisfied.

Table 3: Cointegration Tests

Critical Value	BDS		PSS		F-Statistics
	Lower Bound (0)	Upper Bound (1)	Lower Bound (0)	Upper Bound (1)	
1%	3.74	5.08	3.13	4.61	$F_{BDS} = 4.29^{**}$
5%	2.06	4.01	3.13	4.61	
10%	2.45	3.52	2.38	3.86	$F_{PSS} = 179.81^{***}$

Note: ** and *** denotes significance at 5% and 1% respectively

Regression Result (ARDL)

The resulting short run and long - run parameter estimates for the conventional ARDL model are presented in Table 4. Only the results that are significant in the short run are reported. As reported, economic discomfort impacted negatively on wellbeing in Nigeria both in the short and long run. Specifically, a percentage point increase in economic discomfort will reduce wellbeing in the short – run between (0.106% - 1.582%) in the short run, while a percentage point increase in economic discomfort (misery index) will cause wellbeing to reduce by about 0.156 percent in the long-run. The result for both the short run and long run are statistically significant. This shows that economic discomfort (unemployment + inflation) are factors that determine the pattern of wellbeing in Nigeria. The result conforms with apriori expectation and are in line with (Gandelman, & Hernández-Murillo, 2009 ; Alem & Köhlin, 2014; Prashanth, 2021).

For both the short run and long run, gross fixed capital formation influenced wellbeing positively. The impact as regard to the short run shows that a percentage point increase in gross fixed capital formation will cause wellbeing to rise by 1.635 percent in the short run and 2.160 percent in the long run. The value was significant in the long run indicating that in Nigeria, gross fixed capital stand as an important factor that determines wellbeing both in the short run and long run. Our findings is supported by (Ur Rehman, & Hysa, 2021)

The outcome from government final expenditure conform with the theoretical apriori expectation in that increase in government expenditure will spur and increase in wellbeing. Specifically, the result for both the short – run and long run indicate that increase in total government final expenditure will lead to a rise in wellbeing in Nigeria between 0.92% to 1.96% in the short run while a percentage increase in government total consumption expenditure will raise wellbeing by 0.295% in the long run. The result was significant in the long run which indicate that total government final consumption expenditure is a major determinant of wellbeing in Nigeria.

Secondary school enrollment raises wellbeing in Nigeria both in the short and long-run. The outcome as reported in Table 5 deduce that secondary school enrolment raises wellbeing in Nigeria between 0.351% to 2.786% in the short run. However, a percentage increase in secondary school enrolment will increase wellbeing by 0.869% in the long run. This result is in line with (Sede, 2017)

Table 5: ARDL estimate result for long run and short run

EQN	Variable	Coefficient	SE	p-value
Short Run	Δled	-1.582**	0.470	0.018
	Δled_{t-1}	-0.371**	0.134	0.021
	Δled_{t-2}	-0.106**	0.078	0.04
	$\Delta lgfk$	1.635**	0.684	0.025
	$\Delta lgex_{t-1}$	1.960**	0.607	0.020
	$\Delta lgex_{t-2}$	0.923**	0.352	0.023
	$\Delta lsse_{t-1}$	0.351*	0.606	0.061
	$\Delta lsse_{t-3}$	2.786*	0.897	0.019
Long Run	Led	-0.156***	0.044	0.002
	Lgfk	2.160**	0.123	0.037
	Lgex	0.295**	0.018	0.024
	Lsse	0.869*	0.123	0.093
ARDL (4,4,4,4,4)		Obs = 30	R-Square 0.87	AdjR2 = 0.85

Dynamic ARDL

Since all the required preconditions for the use of novel dynamic ARDL are met, the long-run impact of economic discomfort on wellbeing in Nigeria, alongside other control variables on wellbeing, is estimated through novel dynamic ARDL simulations. The long-run estimates are reported in Table 6. The dynamic ARDL result shows that for every percentage point rise in economic discomfort, wellbeing is expected to decrease by 0.268 percent. The result is statistically significant at 10%. We therefore have sufficient evidence to back up the claim made by this study that economic discomfort is a determinant of wellbeing in Nigeria.

Gross fixed capital also impacted positively and significantly on wellbeing. Based on the result, a percentage increase in gross fixed capital formation increases wellbeing by 2.160 percent. The result was significant at 5%. This shows that gross fixed capital stand as an important factor that determines wellbeing in the country. Government total final expenditure also shows a positive and significant effect on wellbeing. As reported, 1% increase in government final expenditure raises wellbeing by 0.295%. The result was not significant in the long run, this may be to misallocation of government expenditure accompanying with the high rate of corruption. Secondary school enrolment drives wellbeing positively based on the result. As reported, a percentage increase in secondary school enrollment will boost wellbeing Specifically, a percentage increase in school enrollment will improves wellbeing by 0.869%. The R-squared value of 0.83 indicated that about 83% in the variation of wellbeing in Nigeria is accounted for by the independent variables.

Table 5: ARDL estimate result for long run and short run

EQN	Variable	Coefficient	SE	p-value
Long Run	LED	-0.268***	0.471	0.090
	LGFK	2.160**	0.123	0.012
	LGEX	0.295**	0.018	0.213

	LSSE	0.869*	0.123	0.091
	C	4.591	2.450	0.075
ARDL (4,4,4,4,4)	Obs = 30	R-Square 0.83	AdjR2 = 0.76	

Predicted Effect effects of counterfactual shocks to economic discomfort

Finally, the predicted effects of one standard deviation counterfactual shocks to the log of economic discomfort are simulated, plotted and reported in Figures 4. The first graph presents the effect of a positive one standard deviation shock to economic discomfort (led) to wellbeing (lweb). The plots indicate that a positive shock to economic discomfort (led) will stimulate a significant decrease in wellbeing (lpky) in the short run, that eventually reaches a long-run value of about 2.58. The second graph presents the impact of a negative one standard deviation shock to economic discomfort (led) on wellbeing (lpky). The impact in this case is the opposite of what was detected in the first graph. A negative one standard deviation shock to economic discomfort will cause a significant improvement in the wellbeing of the economy in the short run to a sustained long-run level of approximately 3.73. These patterns displayed by the counterfactual shocks confirm that positive shocks that trigger rises in economic discomfort in Nigeria will result to poor wellbeing on the citizens in Nigeria, while negative shocks will improve their wellbeing

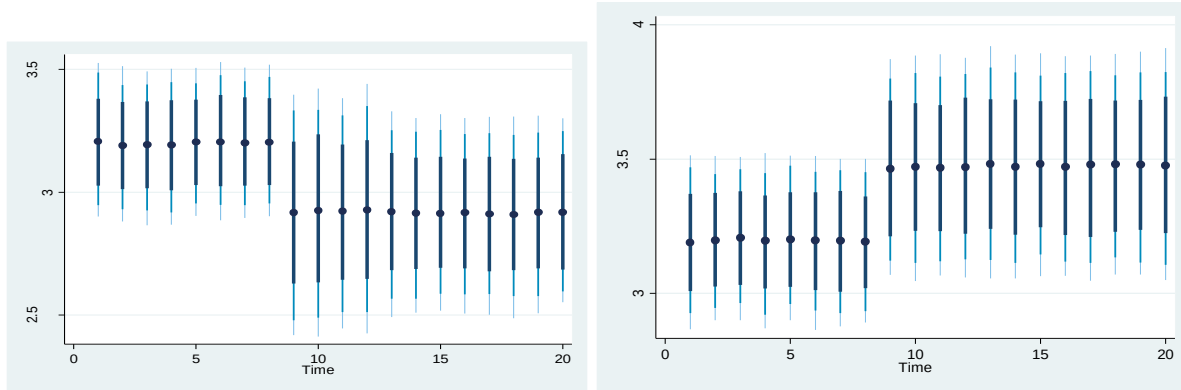
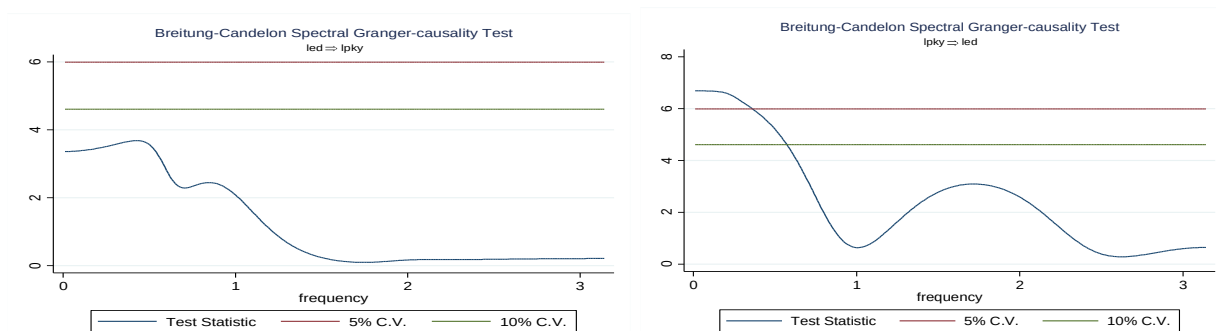


Figure 2. Predicted effect of a ± 1 shock in economic discomfort on wellbeing. Note (1) the dark spot on the graph denotes the predicted mean values (ii) 75%, 90% and 95% of the confidence interval are displayed with the darkest to the lightest.

Granger Causality Test

The direction of causality between economic discomfort and wellbeing are viewed through the Breitung and Candelon (2006) Granger causality testing in frequency domain. Figures 4-5 below present the frequency domain causality graphs for the direction of causality between both. The test results revealed that economic discomfort is able to predict wellbeing in Nigeria at various frequencies. Feedback causal relations is however not noticeable. There is thus overwhelming evidence that economic discomfort is a significant predictor of wellbeing in Nigeria.



5. Conclusion and Policy Implication

The study investigated the effect of economic discomfort on wellbeing in Nigeria utilizing the novel dynamic ARDL estimation techniques along with the Breitung and Candelon (2006) frequency domain granger causality test for the period 1991 to 2020. The conclusion reached from the study are as follows: first, economic discomfort deters wellbeing in Nigeria. Secondly, there exist a significant long run relationship between economic discomfort and wellbeing. Third, wellbeing respond negatively to a positive shock (increase) in economic discomfort and positive to a negative (decrease) shock to economic discomfort. Fourth, the direction of causality runs from economic discomfort to wellbeing and not vice versa. Therefore, more activities that lead to a single digit in both the rate of inflation and unemployment need to be pursued. The implication of this is that if the rate of inflation and unemployment continues to rise, wellbeing of the country will be affected drastically and hence, the SDGs target for good health and wellbeing in Nigeria may not be realistic. Therefore, policy towards addressing price stability and creation of more industries to reduce unemployment need to be pursued. Avenue towards reducing cost of education to increase student enrollment must be pursued .

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Impact of Technological Innovation on Quality Service Delivery in Nigerian Railway Corporation (2017 - 2021)

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Abstract. The adoption of technological innovation in the Nigerian Railway Corporation has received amplified attention in recent times as it has been tested using various models. Experience in selected train stations indicates that innovative ideas have not been effectively and successfully implemented due to the nature and character of bureaucracy in the Nigeria Railway Corporation. Therefore, the study's objective is to examine the effect of technological innovation on the quality service delivery of Nigerian Railway Corporation using selected train stations in Nigeria. The hypothesis that guided the study is null and alternative; H_0 : Technological Innovation does not affect quality Service Delivery in Nigerian Railway Corporation. H_1 : Technological Innovation affects quality Service Delivery in Nigerian Railway Corporation. The study adopted Socio-Technical System Theory as a framework for theoretical analysis. A descriptive survey design was adopted as a research methodology—the collected data for the study through primary and secondary sources of data collection. The study population comprised 389 selected employees of the Nigerian Railway Corporation at Kaduna, Abuja, Lagos and Ibadan (train stations chosen for the study). Data obtained from the survey were analysed using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 26. The study adopted descriptive statistics for Mean, and the test of hypotheses was done using correlation coefficient analysis. Findings from the study indicate that technological innovation has played a crucial role in progressing and developing railway administration in Nigeria. It has improved various aspects of the railway system. The study recommended that institutionalised corruption should be eliminated from the railway sector.

Keywords: Technology, Innovation, Service Delivery, Public Corporation, Nigeria

1. Introduction

In a contemporary global competitive environment, delivering quality service in all public sectors is considered a fundamental strategy for success and continued existence. Service delivery standard in the Public Sector, no doubt, plays an increasingly significant role in the economy of any country. In Nigeria, Public service delivery has been described as poor, inefficient and ineffective. It is often subject to ridicule because of its rigidity. In Nigeria, the thrust of the public sector is to provide and serve as a tool for reasonably priced and quality service delivery to the general public. The essential needs of life, for instance, food, health, shelter, source of water supply, education, peace and security, are required by the general public to live a fruitful life. This cannot be made possible without delivering services that can ensure and enhance safety and welfare by the government. Nwekeaku & Obiorah (2019) asserted that a core challenge of government and the ultimate expectation of the people of a developing country such as Nigeria is the ability of the public service to adequately direct its aspirations towards improving the general welfare of the citizens. This is anchored on the assumption that the primary responsibility of any government is to deliver services via its public service effectively to the general public at reasonable prices, principally now that the country is under civilian rule after the wind of democracy which has blown over countries of the world.

Conversely, the ability of the Nigerian public service to effectively manage affairs of the public and ensure quality service delivery has been under scrutiny over

the years. As a result, the Nigerian government has put several forms of reform on its structure and human resource management designed for enhancing its performance. Undeniably, the Nigerian public service, a critical instrument of the modern State, has undergone a series of socio-economic, structural and political transformations, owing to the country's political leadership. The current administration has employed several strategies to improve the delivery of services to the general public. It is, however, doubtful if these strategic efforts have transformed the public service for the best.

Within the field of public administration, there has been a considerable paradigm shift. In Tunggul (2016) view, this shift compelled bureaucracy to significantly tidy up its organisational aspects. Nigeria and many other developing countries in Africa are presently realising the urgent need for Technological Innovation to provide customer-focused, cost-effective, and updated methods to improve public service performance. As rightly observed by Awosika (2015), innovation in the public service has become increasingly popular worldwide as a tool for enhancing governance and scaling up service quality. Consequently, the shift towards treating the citizen as a customer has led to a fundamental transformation in the linkage between the citizen and the public sector. The significance of technological Innovation in Nigerian public service cannot be genuinely overemphasised or ignored. It has also become more evident than ever before that the conventional administrative frameworks and systems are no longer suitable to tackle the demands of a growing citizenry with desires and challenges of complex global economies (Adeyemo, 2011).

Nigerian public service over the years has often come under heavy criticism for poor organisation, over-staffing, indiscipline, red tape and secrecy, insensitivity, rigidity, over-centralisation, apathy, incompetence, corruption and favouritism, rudeness and highhandedness, laziness, truancy and malingering (Oyedele, 2015; Okon, 2008). The general public often sees the public service as plodding, inefficient, bureaucratic, change-resistant, incompetent, unresponsive and worst of all, corrupt. Citizens often complain that the public service is inadequate, inappropriate, inferior, or too costly for their hard-earned tax payments (Muhammad, Muhammed & Aliyu, 2013). Specifically, the Nigerian Railway Corporation is faced with significant challenges such as worn-out infrastructure, lack of skilled and competent staff, irregular staff training, lack of maintenance of

available amenities, inadequate information technology tools, and underfunding.

Although the adoption of technological innovation in the Nigerian public sector has received amplified attention recently, it has been experimented and tested in the public sector using various models and principles, mainly influenced by experiences from the private sector. Experience in Nigeria indicates that innovative ideas have not been effectively imbibed and successfully implemented in the Nigerian railway system due to the nature and character of its bureaucracy. This study aims to examine the effect of technological innovation on the quality service delivery of Nigerian Railway Corporation using selected train stations in Nigeria. The researchers investigated the prospects and challenges of adopting technological innovation to improve quality service delivery to achieve this objective. The hypothesis that guided the study is null and alternative; H_0 : Technological Innovation does not affect quality Service Delivery in Nigerian Railway Corporation. H_1 : Technological Innovation affects quality Service Delivery in Nigerian Railway Corporation.

2. Conceptual Review

2.1 Innovation

Innovation in the Public Sector is the 'implementation by a public sector organisation of new or significantly improved operations or products,' covering both the content of the services and products and the instruments used to deliver them (OECD, 2012). The perspective of this study is that innovation is not exclusively an invention but also an organisational change intended to improve performance. Maduabum (2014) defined innovation as making changes, large and small, radical and increment, to products processes that introduce something new for the organisation that adds value to customers and contributes to the knowledge store of the organisation.

In the view of Awosika (2015), innovation involves the act of researching, acquiring, introducing and building up new ideas, technology, processes and products aimed at not just for solving problems but improving efficiency and effectiveness, and thus enhancing the standard of living. Awosika contends further that innovation must not be geared towards improving organisational competitiveness in the commercial world but should also enhance living standards. Innovation in the public sector is an influential steam engine and a vital tool for the reform and reinvigoration of wholly state-owned

bodies and quasi-governmental organisations and agencies (Eran, Aviv; Nitza & Ayalla, 2008). Innovation has become influential to economic growth. It revolves around governance, political issues and human problems, which are very difficult to solve (Okibo & Shikanda, 2013). Innovation has the prospect of opening new doors, reformulating old issues, breaking with policy deadlocks, integrating new actors and formulating and implementing new ideas (Sørensen & Torfing, 2012). Innovation in the public sector may be linked to institutional renewal, new forms of governance, process innovation, digitisation and organisational improvements (Cunningham & Karakasidou, 2009). As rightly observed by Sørensen & Torfing (2012), the invention has the potential of opening new doors, reformulating old problems, breaking with policy deadlocks, bringing new actors together and formulating and implementing new ideas. Awosika (2015) remarked that innovation is at the heart of the public service's efforts to improve performance and productivity, develop new capabilities, business, and markets, enhance the standard of living and create new opportunities.

In the public sector, innovation refers to significant improvements to public administration and is not limited to services. It can be defined as implementing a public sector organisation of new or expressively improved progression, approaches aimed at improving service delivery. Innovation in the public sector is a significant sphere in response to an essential disparagement of governments due to their lack of ability to produce high-quality public services or develop efficient and effective ways of achieving desired social goals. Contrasting the private sector, where innovation is at the base of the competitive advantage of organisations and represents a necessary condition for survival and longer-term sustainability, governments do not face similar pressure to innovate. Still, they must meet demands for improved performance and societal impacts (Awosika, 2015).

Innovation improves the public services quality and efficiency and enhances governmental capacity in solving problems. Innovation can improve the quality and effectiveness of public services and strengthen government capacity to solve problems. In the views of Hargadon & Sutton (2000), innovation is considered necessary to public sector organisations by maintaining active competitiveness in a globalised economy; the organisation's ability to adapt to emerging technological, social, economic, and political environments; reducing costs and increasing productivity, thereby improving profits and strengthening the organisation; inculcating an

organisational culture of creativity. It is pertinent to public sector management because it seeks to magnetise a high-quality inspired workforce and breathe new life into slowing or stagnant markets or other operational areas, alternatively facilitating entry into emerging markets. Technological innovations are the changes and recent advancements in products and processes developed in the technical aspects (Khan and Khan, 2009).

2.2 Quality Service Delivery

Discourse on the concept of service delivery emphasises a high premium on good governance and technological innovation. It has been a core subject of discussion for any public sector reform. According to Nchuchuwe & Etim (2020), Service delivery (SD) remains an excellent effort to provide the much-expected value for customers or clients through the activities, relationships, or interaction between the employees and clients. When clients are satisfied with the services rendered by an organisation, they become more loyal and ready to engage further with such an organisation. This usually generates more profits and revenue for the organisations (Duke & Etim, 2018). Nwagboso & Etim (2019) asserted that it is a vital role of every State to provide or deliver a range of services in the interest of its people.

Service delivery denotes a system supplying a public need such as transport, communications, or utilities such as electricity and water (Onuorah & Ewuim, 2021). According to Afeez (2020), service delivery is defined as the extent to which the services provided by the listed sectors meet or exceed the expectation of the beneficiaries (general public). Service delivery is the "raison d'être" of the public service (Oyedele, 2015). Oyedele emphasised that due to the strategic importance of public service delivery to the citizens of any country, the need for effective delivery of these categories of services could not be overstressed. This is why public service delivery should also be accessible, high in quality, and effectively delivered. Public service is the central government machinery for implementing public policies and decisions. As a result, the primary responsibility of the government is to provide prompt and efficient quality service delivery to the general public at affordable prices. According to Oronsanye (2010), public service delivery can be seen as "the process of satisfying the needs of people through prompt and efficient procedures." The implication is that the interaction between government and citizens is such that the needs of the citizens are met promptly, thereby making the citizens key in public service delivery.

Quality service delivery can be seen as one of the core responsibilities for establishing public organisations. It is identified as "one of the crucial functions of the public sector." Okafor, Fatile & Ejalonibu (2014) comprehend public service delivery as "the result of the intentions, decision of the government and government institutions, and the actions undertaken and a decision made by people employed in government organisations." They opined that it is "the provision of public goods or social (education, health), economic (grants) or infrastructural (water, electricity) services to those who need (or demand) them". Service delivery has also been defined as an enterprise that describes the relationship between clients and providers of goods and services (Badmus, 2017). Significantly, service delivery connotes a term generally used to describe predominantly essential services provided by the government. Instances of such services include but are not limited to social amenities like hospital, road, electricity, water supply, marketplace, customs services, licensing, sanitary services, physical infrastructure, town planning, housing, among others.

Uwanyiligira (2021) asserted that Service delivery is about delivering services as effectively as possible to the satisfaction and delight of the customer. Price of your services should only be about the "what" is being offered, not about the "how" that service will be delivered. Furthermore, Kotterman (2010) emphasised that efficient service delivery indicators are quality services, quick response and accountability. Quality service is confirmed when a paid service meets the citizens' expectations.

3. Prospects of Technological Innovation for Improving Public Service Delivery in Nigeria

There are perceived prospects for adopting technological Innovation in Nigerian Railway Corporation. Generally, it aims to enhance access to and delivery of government services to benefit citizens. Solinthon & Rummyantseva (2016) asserted that it seeks to help strengthen the government's drive toward effective governance and increased transparency to better manage the country's social and economic resources for development. Technology has the potential to bring about the changes needed to increase the efficiency of rail transport (Oliveira et al., 2019) and improve customers' experience (Oliveira et al., 2017). Technology can also enhance fare collection and management, prone to errors and time-consuming if made manually (Camacho et al., 2013; Foth & Schroeter, 2010). Smartphones can be used by

commuters to obtain tickets, with the potential to increase user satisfaction with the rail system (Van Lierop et al., 2018). Blainey et al. (2012) asserted that commuters demand pre-trip information for planning their movements and information during journeys such as punctuality, connections, and platform allocation. One extensive review indicates that accurate communication, for example, giving adequate wayfinding information, can optimise commuters' experience with public transport (Van Lierop et al., 2018).

Technology can facilitate finding accessible seats on trains, which is a current demand from passengers (Transport Focus, 2016) and cause stress during the boarding process (Oliveira et al., 2017). Passengers have specific preferences regarding seats (Wardman and Murphy, 2015) and would appreciate controlling where to sit (Cox et al., 2006). Navigation and wayfinding information can be delivered directly to passengers to inform where they could stand, aiming to board less busy carriages (Peña-Minano et al., 2017). Reports show that passengers are willing to change behaviours, for example, choosing to travel on a less crowded train, or spreading themselves out on the platform before boarding, in response to crowding information (Pritchard and Preston, 2017; Pritchard, 2018).

Technology Innovation could improve people's perceptions of rail transport and the overall user experience. Smartphones are often used by public transport commuters (Lyons et al., 2016) and can make waiting times seem shorter (Oliveira et al., 2016). Furthermore, specific system features designed for train passengers can improve the journey experience of the travelling public.

4. Challenges of Technological Innovation in improving Service Delivery

Regardless of the importance of technological innovation utilisation in improving service delivery and work processes, innovative initiatives are accompanied by their attendant challenges. Arguably, the changes triggered by new technologies could take a long time to implement as it might be complex to change the attitude or behaviours of the employees and the structure of the organisation. Maduabum (2014) observed that the tendency to resist innovative ideas is higher in the public service. He explained further that there is a tendency for senior officers to capitalise on the ills of bureaucracy to prevent the implementation of innovative ideas mainly, where such statements emanate from their subordinates. Hence, technological innovation is primarily

influenced by institutionalised corruption in public corporations.

Conversely, it can be argued that technology has made employees machine-dependent with no place for creativity. Novel technologies cause a shakeup in organisations and ensure drastic changes to operations and various work processes. Domeher et al. (2015) explained, "While the vital significance of innovation in today's competitive world has been widely proclaimed, innovation is not without its challenges". According to Kong & Masud (2019), some of these challenges include periodic system failures, network challenges, malfunctioning electronic platforms, etc., resulting in customer agitation, dissatisfaction, and customer disloyalty. Audenaert et al. (2019) asserted that innovation in the public sector is faced with many barriers due to monopolies and a lack of competitive pressure to innovate. Bureaucratic measures and red-tapism by central agencies are further challenges to employees' innovation. Olaopa (2014) identified inadequate funds allocated to the innovation initiatives, the difficulty associated with streamlining various projects already existing or being implemented, perceived lack of value for money when the massive cost of deploying innovation projects is compared to the actual value to the people, false sense of transparency as some of the challenges to Innovation in Nigeria. Ayo & Ekong (2008) stressed the absence of skilled workers to handle various ICT services and their applications in bringing about the successful implementation of innovation in the public sector. They asserted that efficient and successful implementation of the invention requires experts and a certain level of competence to operate the ICT-related tools.

Innovation in public organisations is receiving academic interest. Several case studies have focused on many fields, such as civic environmentalism, healthcare, educational choice and policing (Pillay & Morris, 2016; Bond & Gabriele, 2018; Menelau, Akutsu, Isidro-Filho, & Fernandes, 2019). The total concentration of innovation in the public organisation has been on methods and strategies to decrease or minimise their resources and privatise government functions, not on the influence and effectiveness of creation itself. Many researchers have pointed out the inadequate attention to the effect of the set of innovations (Christensen & Lægheid, 2006).

5. Empirical Review

Olufemi & Adejuwon (2017), in their study "Innovation and Public Service Delivery", affirmed that innovations in the public sector guarantee

survival and improve performance in public service delivery. There is an assumption that technological innovation presents enormous opportunities to enhance public service delivery as opined by the ICTs optimists. According to Ewuim et al. (2016), information and communication technology have helped improve public service delivery. Onuorah & Ewuim (2021) asserted that adopting technological innovation in public sector management is not an option but a necessity, especially for any country aiming to improve public service delivery.

Previous studies revealed that innovative ideas could transform the structure and processes of the public sector to make it more efficient and effective. This is possible if creative ideas are given to the civil service's political class and top echelons (Olumide, 2015). Several scholars have written on innovation and public service delivery, for example, Mori (2017), Okibo & Shikanda (2013), Sørensen & Torfing (2012), Oslen (2007), Eran, Aviv, Nitza & Ayalla (2008), Walker (2006). As commendable as their contributions were to public administration and innovation in the public sector, it is imperative to note that their contributions focused chiefly on developed societies. There is no doubt that these contributions significantly influence public service delivery, but owing to environmental factors and peculiarities of African cultures in general and Nigeria in particular, their contributions may not be in every respect practicable. Therefore, other scholars such as Oyedele (2015), Olumide (2015), Awosika (2015), Maduabum (2014), Obianyo (2010) have conducted studies on innovation and public service delivery in developing societies and Nigeria. However, these studies focused on the public service, and little is known about technological innovation's effect in Nigeria's public transport sector. It is on this premise that this study attempts to fill the identified gap and conduct a study specifically on the Nigerian Railway Corporation.

6. Theoretical Framework: Socio-Technical System Theory

The study adopted Socio-Technical System Theory as a framework for theoretical analysis. The theory originated from pioneering work at the Tavistock Institute in the early 1950s. Proponents of the theory include Harold Leavitt, Albert Chermis, Ken Eason, Enid Mumford (Trist, 1981). Socio-technical Systems (STS) in organisational development presents an approach to complex corporate work design that identifies the relations between employees and technology in an organisation. The theory further connotes the interaction between society's complex infrastructure and human behaviour. In this sense,

society itself, and most of its substructures, are complex socio-technical systems.

From a socio-technical systems perspective, any organisation, or part of it, comprises a set of interacting subsystems. Thus, organisation employ people with capabilities, who work towards goals, follow processes, use technology, operate within a physical infrastructure, and share certain cultural assumptions and norms. The theory examines the influence of technologies on organisations and the effects of organisational process, culture, and activity on technology. Another significant contribution of the socio-technical framework is recognising that the work system is an open system. The work process and interdependencies have to cope with the environment throws up new challenges (Orlikowski, 2000). At its core, the socio-technical theory believes that the design and performance of any organisational system can only be understood and improved if both 'social' and 'technical' aspects are brought together and treated as interdependent parts of a complex system. Socio-technical System theory is about joint optimisation, with a shared emphasis on achieving both excellence in technical performance and quality in people's work lives. As distinct from socio-technical systems, the socio-technical theory proposes several different ways of achieving joint optimisation. They are usually based on designing different kinds of organisations, ones in which the relationships between socio and technical elements lead to the emergence of productivity and wellbeing.

The socio-technical theory is anchored on two primary principles: the interactions of social and technical factors establish the setting for flourishing (or fruitless) organisational performance. This interaction consists partly of linear "cause and effect" relationships (the relationships that are usually "designed") and partly from "non-linear", complex, even unpredictable relationships (the good or bad relationships that are often unexpected). Whether designed or not, both types of interaction occur when socio and technical elements are put to work. The critical aspects of the STS approach include combining the human factors and the technical systems to enable new possibilities for work and pave the way for technological change (Trist, 1981).

7. Research Methodology

The study adopted a descriptive survey design whereby a group of people were studied by collecting and analysing data from only a few considered representative of the entire group. Data for the study were collected through primary and secondary

sources of data collection. The primary sources consist of the questionnaire and focus group discussion, while the secondary sources consist of textbooks, articles and publications on the subject matter. The study areas comprised Kaduna, Abuja, Lagos and Ibadan (train stations). These locations were selected because the railway system is currently active in the regions, hence the need to study the effect of technological innovation in improving service delivery in the train stations. The study population comprised selected Nigerian Railway Corporation employees at the four train stations chosen for the study. Below table depicts the distribution of the people of the study:

Table 1: Table of selected train stations of Nigerian Railway Corporation

S/N	Train Station Location	Population
1.	Kaduna	79
2.	Abuja	114
3.	Lagos	108
4.	Ibadan	88
Total		389

Source: Field Survey, 2021

The researchers consider a population of 389 as not too large and manageable, hence deciding to study the entire population. Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 26 was used to analyse data gathered from the survey. The study adopted descriptive statistics for Mean, and the test of hypotheses was done using correlation coefficient analysis. This is aimed at establishing the significant relationship between the dependent and independent variables captured in the study. The study also used 5% interval reliability as the level of significance. The research hypothesis was tested using Pearson Product – Moment Correlation analysis. A 5-point Likert scale assigned numerical values of Strongly Agree (5), Agree (4), Undecided (3), Disagree (2) and Strongly Disagree (1) was used.

$$\text{Mean } [\chi] = \frac{5+4+3+2+1}{5} = 3.0$$

Decision Rule: The criterion for Mean was a cut point of 3.0; by implication, any Mean score of 3.0 and above was considered Agreed while a Mean score below 3.0 was considered Disagreed.

8. Data Analysis

Data obtained from the questionnaire were analysed in line with the research objectives and research hypothesis formulated for this study. The results captured in the returned questionnaires were inserted on Microsoft Excel and then exported to Statistical Packages for Social Science (SPSS) version 26 for further analysis and interpretation. Data used for the

hypothesis test were obtained from respondents' responses to various questions as contained in the questionnaire item.

The decision rule for the hypothesis test: We accept the null hypothesis when the probability value

is greater than the alpha value. Otherwise, we reject it.

H₀: Technological Innovation has no effect on quality Service Delivery in Nigerian Railway Corporation.

H₁: Technological Innovation has effect on quality Service Delivery in Nigerian Railway Corporation.

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Technological Innovation	3.7041	.24311	350
Service Delivery	3.0226	.52138	350

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Correlationns

		Technological Innovation	Service Delivery
Technological Innovation	Pearson Correlation	1	.141*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.11
	N	350	350
Service Delivery	Pearson Correlation	.141***	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.11	
	N	350	350

**, Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: SPSS output computed by the researcher (2021)

Analysis in the hypothesis testing depicts that the probability value (0.011) is less than the alpha value (0.05), the researchers therefore accept the alternative hypothesis and conclude that Technological Innovation has effect on quality Service Delivery in Nigerian Railway Corporation with a correlation value of 0.141.

9. Discussion of Findings

The objective and hypothesis of the study are anchored on the adoption of technological innovation in improving service delivery in the Nigerian Railway Corporation. This entails improving efficiency, accountability, and transparency and reducing corruption in the delivery of services. The study investigated the effect of technological innovation in selected train stations managed by the Nigerian Railway Corporation in Nigeria. Findings from the study indicate that technological innovation has played a crucial role in the progress and development of railway administration in Nigeria as it has improved various aspects of the railway system. It has affected the mode of payment for train tickets by enabling an e-payment system; improved traffic management, which helps operators to effectively manage their schedule thereby reducing delays for passengers and freight operators; improved documentation and retrieval of commuters' data; as well as improved accountability and limiting corruption in the Corporation. Technological innovation in the selected train stations has

dramatically assisted in eliminating revenue wastage for the government. Notwithstanding the afforested effect of technological innovation, the study also identified that they do not go without inherent challenges. These challenges include corruption, worn-out infrastructure, poor and irregular staff training to facilitate acceptable use of IT tools, lack of maintenance of available amenities, inadequate information technology tools, and underfunding by the government. These challenges have affected the quality of service delivery in the Nigerian Railway Corporation.

Results from the hypothesis test contributed to the researcher's decision to accept the alternative view, concluding that technological innovation affects service delivery in the selected train stations as managed by the Nigerian Railway Corporation with a correlation value of 0.141. The finding from the test of this hypothesis supports the assertion stated in Awosika (2015) study that innovation in the public service has increasingly become a strategy for improving governance and scaling up service quality. In his research, Awosika stated that innovation involves the act of researching, acquiring, introducing and building up new ideas, technology, processes and products aimed at not just for solving problems but improving efficiency and effectiveness, and thus enhancing the standard of living. He contends further that innovation must not be geared towards enhancing organisational competitiveness in the commercial world but should also enhance living

standards. The study, therefore, validates the assumption that technological innovation presents enormous opportunities for strengthening public service delivery as opined by the ICTs optimists.

10. Conclusion and Recommendations

Innovation in the Public sector is ever more started as a fundamental factor in sustaining a high level of public services for citizens and businesses. Technological innovations in the public sector pledge survival and improve performance in public service delivery. Innovative ideas can transform the structure and processes of the public sector to make it more efficient and effective. Overall, this study on the effect of technological innovation on service delivery of selected train stations managed by the Nigerian Railway Corporation has been able to make findings and identify challenges related to technological innovations in the Corporation. The study's findings validate the assumption that technological innovation presents enormous opportunities in enhancing public service delivery. However, this does not go without challenges, as identified in the study.

In line with the findings of the study, the following recommendations are put forward; there is a need to eliminate corruption in every form of it because this is the most dreadful enemy of progress; there is also a need for the provision of rail infrastructure at the train stations, as this would promote efficient service delivery; staff training is another essential element required to achieve desired technological innovation goals as this would enable the employees of Nigerian Railway Corporation to utilise the information technology tools effectively and as well encourage proficiency in performance; funding is essential for the actualisation of technological innovation goals. Therefore the government must inject funds into the railway sector to attain stipulated objectives.

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1914 Amalgamation, Resource Control and its Implications for Nation Building in Nigeria: An Assessment

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Abstract. The current socio-political and economic problems confronting Nigeria had been linked to the form of administration left for the country by the British colonial government. Incessant agitations by ethnic nationalities, most especially the minority groups, for being marginalised in politics, gainful employment, ministerial appointments, access to education, infrastructures, unequal sharing formula of the nation's resources are serious issues yet to be addressed by the government since the restoration of democracy in 1999. This paper discusses the demand for resource control by the oil producing region of Niger Delta and other ethnic groups. The author integrates the use of both primary and secondary sources. It explains that many Nigerians have consciously and continuously asked the question of the genesis of Nigeria's socio-political problems and why the process of national integration is still many miles away from actualisation since independence. This paper further argues that the acceptance of Lord Lugard's proposal in 1914 with the establishment of colonial mercenaries to achieve their goals, the role of Lord Lugard as a Governor General in Nigeria, his objectives and reforms for the amalgamation or lumping together of existing protectorates by the British government in the colonial period laid the foundation for the ethnic power struggle and crisis in the country. However, the relevance of the amalgamation to nation building are also examined. Thus, certain recommendations are made that all Nigerian citizens should be treated equally no matter their ethnic background, to enhance patriotism, integration and sustenance of the present democratic dispensation. It concludes that a re-direction of government policy to ensure resource control, restructuring, and a true federalism would, to a large extent, usher in peace and socio-economic progress for the nation.

Keywords: Nation Building, Colonialism, Amalgamation, Democracy, Resource Control.

1. Introduction

Abi-nito, it is imperative to note that before the colonial state creation there were multiple ethnic groups with complete system of government each operating independently within what is to later be called Nigeria. For instance, the Kanem-Borno Kingdom, Fulani Emirate which rules the Savannah of Northern Nigeria, the Ife Kingdom, Benin Kingdom, Yoruba Emirate of Oyo. The city states of the Niger delta as well as the politically decentralize but culturally homogenous Ibo peoples of the Easter region and the small tribes of Plateau. They had different cultural diversities and which are merged as one entity or nation (Nmadi and Martins 1992:44).

It is clear that the incursion of the European largely depend on the early contact with Africans most especially in transnational trade network in slaves and their struggle over land in Africa after the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference in Germany.

Besides, these European merchants abolished trade in human slaves due to the development of industrial capitalism in the 1800's where labour intensive economy was transformed into capital industrial development, hence, there was urgent need for raw materials readily available in Africa. Also, certain factors like, Global strategies, national prestige, maintenance of status quo in the World economy, Evangelical mission, adventurism and economic expansionism facilitated the white men's decision to move into the interior part of Africa, utilized the ignorance of African chiefs, conquered, subjected them to force rule of which the kingdoms mentioned

above later became Nigeria or nation-states (Micheal Crowther 1977).

There are forms of stiff resistance against British infiltration into the sub-region by various kings like; king Kosoko (1861) when Lagos was annexed, Jaja of Opobo, Nana of Itsekiri, Attaihu Ahmadu (in the North) and others could not match the maxims of the imperialist. Thus, the British imperial company's (Royal Niger Company) charter was revoked to usher in the actual British colonial mercenaries and polices put in place to feature their administration, exploitation of the resources to their home industries.

2. Establishment of British Colonial Mercenaries

Between 1900-1914, the British sought to secure central direction of policy and pool economy resources together for easy administration has adopted policy of gradual amalgamation of its various units in Nigeria, for instance in 1906 the Lagos Colony and Protectorate was merged with the Southern protectorate to smoothen its economic ambition, that is, the British government utilized the financial position of the South to cover the cost of administration and development in the financially weak colony and protectorate of Lagos saddled with white elephant of a railway in need of extension since 1901 though administrative fusion was not attained.

The British equally adopted the doctrine of a dual mandate for the administration of the colonies they had acquired. However, expansions of trade are the primary instrument for carrying out the dual mandate policy in Nigeria. Dual mandate means the British administrative policy where by the resources of the colony was developed in a way to assist the natives but mainly to develop the metropolis of the colonial center.

Research have shown that no real infrastructure for internal industrial development existed, except of course that which aided the production of exportable agricultural staples to enhance the British self-enlighten motives in Nigeria (Michael Crowther 1971:50).

3. The Role of Governor-General Lord Lugard

Fredrick Lord Lugard was appointed as the first High Commissioner of the Northern Nigeria in 1900. He had no civil service experience and was a military man through and through. Therefore, his new position as the High Commissioner was seen as a

military task that should be carried out with military precision, he gives order and prompt obedient follows. He did not allow constructive criticism from any resident officers in the North. Most especially those who are against his indirect rule system in the Emirates are sanctioned and sent to non-emirates part of the North as reward those who supported him (Perham Margery 1960:40-65).

In addition, given his military experience, Lugard would prefer to work with military officers to seasoned administrators to serve in the political department. In fact, he believed that "army officers are an admirable class of men. They are gentlemen, their training teaches them prompt decision. Their education in military law gives them a knowledge of the rule of evidence and judicial procedure".

Besides, Lugard administrative system in the North revealed the incapability of military with governance, he made blunder especially his strained relationship with the staff and frequent administrative change and transfer of staff officers, this is made clear in Lugard's assertion (1904-35) thus;

"Every resident or assistance resident shall be removable from one province to another and the area included without his jurisdiction shall be liable to diminution or alteration from time to time at the discretion of the high commissioner"

This policy of Lugard virtually lowered the morale of the political officers in the Northern Nigeria.

Lugard's attitude and military action which are non-democratic could be viewed in his policy of indirect rule, it was adopted to off-set the high cost of administering the vast Northern Nigeria later turned to administrative policy system which made it difficult to discipline corrupt and erring emirs in the North. In fact, any administrator who insulted the emir are either sanctioned or transferred to a non-emirate area for anti-direct rule system (Hannah 1969).

Accordingly, his return from Hong Kong in 1913 enhanced the formulation of policy of amalgamation which led to 1913 memorial protest of the Northern political officers against the nature of certain clauses in the policy on welfare of staff. (Crocker Watter, 1971:50). Also, his preference to stay in the North and for the relative success of indirect rule manifested in his decision to merge the developed Southern protectorate with the financially poor Northern protectorate in 1914.

4. The Inevitability of Amalgamation

4.1 What is Amalgamation?

Amalgamation in accordance with oxford advanced learner dictionary meaning, is bringing together classes, societies, races of people to forms union. It is a combination of two or more people of heterogeneous entities into new one. It could be described as the lumping together under the same administration groups of mutually incompatible peoples. That is, merging together the existing protectorates in Nigeria before 1914 are as follows:

Protectorate of Southern Nigeria: This was in the Niger coast. The British officials then administering it were responsible to the foreign office in London.

Protectorate of Northern Nigeria: The British officials charged with its administration were directly responsible to board of directors of the Royal Niger Company, the Headquarter at various time located in Lokoja and Kaduna.

Protectorate and Colony of Lagos: The British officials administering the colony of Lagos were responsible to colonial office in London.

Thus, these separate administrative units are too vast for effective control and cumbersome to administer them differently, therefore the inevitability for merger became the only option for a desperate colonial power to suit their interest. In 1914, the three protectorates were lumped together and named Nigeria, and Lugard assumed the title of Governor General till before he left the county.

4.2 Objectives and Reasons for Amalgamation in 1914

It is pertinent to note that various reasons for lumping together of the protectorates in Nigeria stand clear considering the urgent need which they felt burdensome. Some of the reasons are as follows:

Exploitation and Self Enlighten Motive: That is the British colonial desire or interest not in the interest of the country or communities, they did not take Nigerian into cognizance before lumping different cultures together into one nation, and to reduce the burden of administration or high cost of administering Nigeria in units enhanced the amalgamation.

Another Cogent reason Was Political: For easy control and administration, it became expedient for British government to have one single unit of political system.

The Decision to Merge the three protectorates together was Economic Expediency: The Northern protectorate was running to severe deficit, they had no direct access to the sea, large area, high population and are being subsidies from the Southern protectorate, imperial grants-in-aid from British of about \$300,000 per annum, the British find a way of fine-tuning the administrative system by way of merger for efficient use of available recourses to develop the Nigeria nation (Morns et al 1970:23).

Another reason for British desire to lump together existing protectorates was the harmonization of railway line, there was pressing need to co-ordinate railway policy which are not in existence at that time, the Southern tract had taken effect in 1901 and by 1906, there is need for an extension Northward to Jebba, Bida, Minna, and further North like Kaduna, Kano, Niger, and Daura, hence by 1969, has been extended to River Niger in the Northern protectorate at Jebba, it extend to Mina, where a Northern line was being constructed to reach Kano, by 1912, there were two competing system, the Minna-Baro-Niger system rivaling the Minna- Jebba- Lagos system. Therefore, it was essential that effective coordination could be achieved through amalgamation. (Ojo 1973: 19).

Exploitation of local raw-materials for unward shipment to Europe is another factor for the merger of territories in the protectorate by 1914, for instance, the construction of rail lines from Lagos → Ilorin → Jebba → Minna → Kano → Enugu Port Harcourt are deliberately undertaken due to the availability of raw materials in these areas.

Literacy is a foundational basis for socio-economy development of any country, where reasonable part of the population are trained to become professional in any field of study to attain society growth and development, therefore the literacy level in Nigeria during the colonial period was very low, there were enough personnel for effective administrative control in the units and too costly for the British government, there could be reduction in the staff strength if the unit are put together to formed central control for the country (Habibu 2003:14).

Inadequate finance capital for proper maintenance of the protectorates facilitated the lumping together, precisely, it was not cost effective to maintain the protectorates differently hence, the lumped territories would drastically reduce the capital to administer over a single units. However, one is force to view the process of amalgamation strategy as a plan for eventual decolonization of the county and to hand

over a united nation to Nigeria nationalist, which manifested in 1960.

4.3 Criticism and Reactions against Amalgamation

The above discussion has shown that the intentions of the British colonial government in Nigeria for amalgamation was not genuine but self-enlighten, and self centred, there has been a lot of criticism by scholars over the years, some of the reactions shall be examined.

For instance, the 1906 amalgamation of Lagos Colony and Protectorates of Southern Nigeria though could not materialize has been criticized by scholars because the colonial power failed to consider the views of the colonized people to ascertain if the decision for lumping together was acceptable. (Eluwa, 1988).

Also, it is unbelievable but in reality, just like the 1906 unchallant attitude of the British colonial power which did not sought for the consent or opinion of Nigeria before the fusion, the 1914 lumping together was undertaken in the same vein, they are not consulted during the process and establishment of the Nation – States.

The contemporary reactions of scholars over the years have argued that the 1914 decision of the British government to merged the independent territories together no matter how beneficial laid the basis for political upheavals in the country during the post – colonial rule (Okonjo, 1974:35) for instance some of the political conditions witnessed in Nigeria between 1960 and 2020 could be enumerated thus:

- Barely six years after the British had left the actual control of Nigeria, there was the first military coupe de tat and counter coup, which continued unabated until 1999.
- Ethnic clash and rivalries characterized the nation's sociopolitical system between 1960 and now.
- The marginalization of minorities by the majority group has caused incessant political crisis as a result of strife to free themselves from political stagnancy which had enjoyed before the 1914 events.
- Favouritism, nepotism, despotism, and tribalism has eaten deep into the nerves of every Nigerian leaders and people against the political philosophy to maintain a virile, dynamic and integrated nation state in Nigeria. The country was equally thrown

into 32 months of Civil War, which started as a resistance to the Federal Government of Nigeria to prevent the Biafra secession between 1967 and 1970.

- Ethnic power struggle and unequal sharing of national cake and revenue are built on what the colonial power, after the amalgamation stood for. Lord Lugard prefers the North rather than the Southern part. This attitude sowed the seed of ethnic power struggle of which the nation is yet to be free.
- External manipulation and intervention in the nation's political system is continuous, especially the British government which signed a defense pact with the new nation after independence. This action has incessantly hindered stable political system in Nigeria.
- The new political system and administration by 1999 are manifestations of the impact of amalgamation since 1914.

It is noted that civilized countries like Britain could lumped people of ethnic diversities, beliefs, cultures with heterogeneous socio-political background together, they had favoured the Northern element with no or little education at that time to promote their economic and political interest in Nigeria compared to the Southern part with more enlightened elites. Obaro Ikime noted that the British official involved in formulating and executing the policy of amalgamation were convinced that through it they would obtained a convenient and political means of securing the colonial administration. This have shown the attitude and ulterior motive, the selfish desire of the colonialist, which did not consider the convenience of the people from difference cultured under one nation. Hence, the Lugard's administration revealed the inefficient nature of military governance in human society. His personality as a military man, trained to protects external aggression and invasion, he had no civil service ethics to control a vast nation like Nigeria. By extension the period of military regime in the country were similar oppressive and despotic, inefficient until the nation returned to democracy in Nigeria since 1999.

5. Ethnic Agitations, Resource Control and Revenue Distribution in the Post-Independence Nigeria

It is noted that before the lumping together of heterogeneous ethnic nationalities in 1914 by Fredrick Lord Lugard, each had absolute control over their resources. All minerals and non-mineral resources were directly under the leadership of those

ethnic groups. Revenue accrued from such resources were used toward the growth and development of their communities. Evidence has revealed that their ability to maximize their resources enhanced socio-economic transformations experienced prior to colonial rule and eventual amalgamation in 1914.

Furthermore, the marginalization of most minority ethnic groups in the post-colonial Nigeria precipitated the agitations for resource control, particularly in the oil-producing communities in the Niger Delta. Resource control within the context of the Niger Delta people was interlinked fiscally in a federal system of government, particularly the case in the Nigeria's First Republic between 1960 and 1966. The country was initially divided into three regions (four from 1963 onwards) that exemplified a self-governing system, at the same time allowing for agreement on the common defence and protection of the country. Section 140 of the 1960 Nigerian Constitution stipulated that the sharing of revenue allocation to the regions shall be based strictly on derivation (Oziegbe, 2009). Each region had its own constitution, attached to the federal constitutional document in particular Part 2 of Chapter 9 of the 1960/1963 Constitution, that allocated the revenue derived from natural resources such as palm oil and rubber in a particular environment to the government, and shared the federally collected revenue among other federating units (Oyovbaire, 1985). This was in line with Wheare's (1953) vision of a federal system in which there is no hierarchy of authority that permits central government to impose itself on other federating units, as all levels maintain horizontal relationships. The debate on resource control explains the failing promises on the part of the federal government to permit the Delta region appropriate the oil revenue generated from the area.

According to the 1958 Raisman Commission Report, petroleum profits were to be divided, with 50 percent allocated to the Niger Delta communities, since oil was located in their territory (derivation principle), 20 percent to the Federal government, and 30 percent to a distributive pool for sharing among other regions in Nigeria, based on population and equality (Ejobowah, 2000). Nwabueze's study on this revealed that the relationship between the central government in Nigeria and the component units rested upon a balanced division of power and resources found in the environment, where each possessed the power over its natural resources without interference from the others (Nwabueze, 1995). More importantly, the demand for resource control by the Ijaw people, up to 1966, was tied to the same principle during the First Republic, a period

when the federating unit had control over agricultural produce and shared about 50 percent of its sale based on derivation. According to Duru (1999), the power politics played by the federal military government toward the end of 1966 to a large extent impeded the practice of a true form of federalism, that is, one that recognises the states' access to a fair share of the natural resources on its land.

Similarly, the intervention of the military forces in Nigerian politics in 1966 had implications for the entire Niger Delta region, namely, the suspension of the people's rights and control over the entire land, the cancellation of the 50 percent revenue allocation to the Delta area, and neglect of the environment. The Federal Military Decree no. 23 of 1966 reverted the existing laws that guaranteed the state's control over its resources, and vested the same in the Supreme Military Council and the Federal Executive Council (Alafuro, 2010). It is noted that the civilian government before the military government must be blamed for environmental problems in the Delta, because petroleum decrees promulgated by the military government became the principle adopted in the oil-producing area by successive government in Nigeria.

Similarly, the Colonial Mineral Oil Ordinance of 1914 that vested ownership and control of minerals with the British Crown was restated in the 1946 Mineral Act. The 1916 Mineral Ordinance re-affirmed the control and ownership by the British Crown over mining and oil rights found in the Nigerian environment (National Archive Ibadan, NAI 1290/1916). Section 3(1) clearly stated:

The entire property in and control of the minerals, and mineral oils, in and under or upon any land in Nigeria, and of all Rivers, streams and water courses, throughout Nigeria, is and shall be vested in the Crown, save in so far as such rights may in any case have been limited by the express grant made before the commencement of this ordinance (National Archive Enugu, NAE, 422/1916).

Although all minerals found on land belonging to the crown in Nigeria were vested in the Crown, non-Crown belonged to the surface owners, individual owners and the native communities (Public Record Office, PRO, 2688). The Crown also retained the mineral rights on all lands alienated before that date, as they had passed to the surface owners. This explicitly revealed that all mineral rights found in the earth belonged to the colonial government, while the native landowners had rights to compensations. Similarly, this legislation has been repealed and

replaced by the Petroleum Act of 1969, which reaffirmed the ownership of mineral resources in the post-colonial Nigeria government. At independence, the power of ownership was automatically transferred to the Federal government. More importantly, some mineral rights were ceded to the United Africa Company (the Royal Niger Company's successor) by the colonial government. As Flint writes:

...the company was to receive one-half of the royalties which the government undertook to impose on all minerals mined in an area between the main Niger and the line through Yola and Zinder, providing they were exported through a British customs house. The concession was to last for 99 years (Flint, 1960).

Protests by the Zikist movement and other nationalists in 1946 made the British colonial government to reverse this decision by the end of 1949.

According to Section 162 (2) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution, the petroleum decrees passed by the military government, such as the 1969 Petroleum Act, re-emphasised the exclusive ownership of the government over oil extracted in any part of the country, particularly in the Delta. For example, the 1969 Petroleum Act already regulated community access to communal land and restricted their rights over mineral resources, making it possible for the multinational oil investors to have unrestricted access to explore for oil, despite the problem of pollution associated with their operations (Ibeanu, 2001).

The period from the 1970s through to the 1980s witnessed the awakening of the local consciousness to the environmental pollution and degradation in the Niger Delta communities. The state's ineptitude in dealing with the environmental situation according to experts like Frynas (2011), fuelled unrest and agitation against the centralised control of oil, especially the few military leaders and local civilians. Decree No. 13 of 1970, specifically permitted the federal military government to retain 55 percent of the royalties from crude oil sales, whilst 45 percent was paid to the state producing the oil, based on derivation. By implication, the alteration made by the Supreme Military Council in 1970 deprived the oil-producing states of ownership in terms of revenue and export duties, which were shared between them by a ratio of 3:2. (Oyovbaire, 1985)

A British Petroleum (BP) record shows that the Niger Delta people's rights and control over their environmental resources were further weakened by the Federal government under its 1971 Decree No. 9,

which nationalised mineral resources and vested the power over oil found in the continental shelf on the federal government (PRO, 554/2109). Continental Shelf as used in this paper meant an area adjacent to the coast of Nigeria where off shore oil exploration and production was permitted. These offshore oil productions were declared the Federal government's matters. By implication, the Niger Delta oil-producing areas were not entitled to any proceeds from the sale of oil found in such area. This practice, according to Dibua, (2006) and Oyovbaire, (1985) did not account for the derivation funds allocated to the oil-producing areas. The provision of this decree thus signified that all oil exploration and proceeds from the offshore or territorial waters belonged to the federal government.

The complexities surrounding the 1978 Land Use Act Section 544, show that it was enacted to redefine the legal claims of ownership and control over all the mineral land found in the Delta region. It took away the community's rights to negotiate directly with the oil companies over access to land and compensation payment. World Bank study has revealed that the people were mindful of their limited rights imbedded in the Land Use Act that nationalised all land, both urban and rural, for the state and Local Government Areas (World Bank, 2008). Section 28(1) of the Land Use Act expressly permitted the occupancy and 'overriding public interest' of the state over oil wells in the Delta environment. It is noted that based on the provision of the Land Use Act, the oil companies until 1978 paid compensation on land directly to the land owners for damaged crops, but as a result of its enactment, the rights were invested in the Federal Government. This explains why Shell Nigeria argued that the problem in the Delta escalated when in 1978 and 1979, as two laws were passed which gave the 36 States and the Federal government control over all land and minerals (Aghalino, 2000; African Insight, 1999). It also illustrates the unfair distribution of income derived from minerals by the government during this period, laying the foundation for intensive agitation for resource control by the Niger Delta people.

The federal division of financial resources within the context of the Nigerian revenue-sharing formula between 1960 and 1975 was based on sharing a fixed proportion of the revenue collected in the local area where the resource was found (derivation). Agitation and debate on how this formula was determined began in 1966, when the Gowon government led administration abrogated the 50 percent allocated to the oil-producing area of the Delta (Eghosa, 1998; Suberu, 1998). The allocation of revenue to the oil-

producing region was further reduced to 45 percent and 55 percent between 1969 and 1975 for the federation account (Government Gazette, 4221/95). Evidence from the Africa Confidential (1997) revealed that Government's exclusive right to offshore resources increased its allocation to 80 percent in 1979 and 20 percent for the oil-producing areas. The Delta areas were mostly affected by this sharing formula since the non-oil states had a greater share than the oil-producing communities.

Section 1, 2(2) of the Revenue Allocation Act of 1981 which took effect from 22 January 1982, specifically addressed the payment of compensation to the oil-producing states:

"The amount standing to the credit of the Federation Account (as specified in subsection (1) of section 149 of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be distributed by the Federal government among the various governments in Nigeria..."

Based on this provision, it become clear that the Federal government would share 55 percent, the state government 32.5 percent, the local government

council 10 percent, the fund meant for resolving ecological problems 1 percent, and the physical development of oil-producing communities 1.5 percent.

Section 2(4) of the Revenue Allocation Act of 1981 states that:

...an amount equivalent to the revenue accruing to the Federation Account derived from minerals extracted from the mineral producing areas of Nigeria shall be paid into a fund to be administered by the Federal government for the development of the said mineral producing area...

This illustrates that the entire Delta oil-producing communities had specified allocation from the oil revenue derived from their land. In 1982, the 20 percent allocated to the oil regions was decreased to 1.5 percent based on derivation, then increased to 3 percent in 1992, and again to 13 percent in 1999. The violent nature of the agitation for resource control in the 1990s probably compelled government to shift from 3% to 13% during the Obasanjos' civilian era.

Table 1: State and Federal shares of petroleum proceeds 1953-present

Years	Producing states %	Federation Account including DPA %
1953-1960	100	-
1960-1969	50	50
1969-1971	45	55
1971-1975	45 minus offshore proceeds	55 plus offshore proceeds
1975-1979	20 minus offshore proceeds	80 plus offshore proceeds
1979-1981	-	100
1982-1992	1.5	98.5
1992-1999	3	97
1999- 2005	13	87

Source: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2006, p.150

Table 1 above illustrates the unstable policy on derivation in Nigeria from the 1950s to 2005. The Distributive Pool Account (DPA) was being used by the Federal government for the sharing of oil revenue among the states, local governments, and the oil-producing areas of the Niger Delta. World Bank document (2008) revealed that in 1982, the Federal government had 55 percent, the states, 30.5 percent, the local government areas 10 percent, and the oil-producing states an additional 4.5 percent.

By implication, the revenue-sharing formula in Nigeria thus emphasised the Federal government's self-interest, which encouraged uneven distribution of oil proceeds in the country (Oyovbaire, 1985). To a large extent, this was to pitch the ordinary people of the Niger Delta, such as the Ijaws and Ogonis, against the non-oil-producing states in Nigeria (Ejobowah, 2000). In short, the marginalisation, deprivation, poverty and long neglect suffered by the oil-producing communities of Delta was an

underlying factor behind their demand for total resource control. It explains why land became the most contentious issue in the Delta region as from the 1990s (International Crisis Group, 2006).

6. Salient Reasons for Resource Control

The perpetuation of environmental pollution and neglect of the Niger Delta by the Federal government, Shell Nigeria and Chevron Nigeria created a perceived need to take violent action especially by the youths from the early 1990s. At this time, the destruction of the Delta environment, especially agricultural land that became unproductive, and pollution of the water courses had encouraged the local people's demand for the control of oil resources found on their land (Ikporuko 1999).

Problematic distribution of oil resources in Nigeria provided further motivation for the Delta struggle. Other protagonists of resource control like, Itse

Sagay, Nnimmo Bassey, Ebeku and Saro-Wiwa, argued that the state's 50 percent of the proceeds should be paid to the state in which it was produced, especially on the continental shelf off its land (Itse, 1995, NAE, 32/1 Allocation of oil Revenue). It is noted that in order to perpetuate its central control and ownership of the oil wealth, the Federal government (both military and Obasanjo's civilian Fourth Republic) reacted to oil agitation from the 1990s onwards by attempting to suppress it through violent means. For example, the politicisation of oil through militarisation or armed occupation of the Niger Delta oil-producing area by the central government in the early and mid-1990s was required for effective maximisation of the production and sale of oil.

The Federal government's repressive action shows its negative response to the demand for resource and environmental control by the oil-producing areas of the Niger Delta (The Guardian, 2001). Their demands were portrayed as secessionist and resistance movements that had to be crushed, as was the case in a repressive attack on Ijaw protesters in Yenogoa in December 1998. Despite the repressive means employed by the Federal government, resource-related demands have increased among the Delta people, because many believed it was their fundamental right to have a clean environment and sustainable income for survival.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper has examined the 1914 amalgamation, resource control, and its implications for nation building in Nigeria. It was found that the post-independence policies of the federal government have continued to hamper the desired growth and development of Nigeria. Peace and stability required for a sustainable economic vibrancy of the nation has been toiled with by the political elite. Hence, it is necessary to argue that the above discussion on the policy and strategies of British colonial administration in Nigeria to merge the existing protectorates under a single government to some extent was a mistake which has continued to hunt the political peace and process of national integration till date. The motive of the British government was not genuine, but to satisfy their interest, especially the 1914 constitution which arrogated more power to the Governor General to reject and accept any advice given to him by the council. The nominated members, who are Nigerians, were figure head and bench warmer with little contribution in the council's deliberations. It is reasonable to fault certain clauses and strategies in the 1914 constitution. The 1914 lumping together of these territories has nothing to

offer the emerged nation states, it has not achieved anything but rather deepened the political crisis in the country. The attitude of Lord Lugard marred the process of 1914 fusion. It was a mistake that came to reality. In fact, amalgamation of Nigeria was an artificial creation of the British.

The post-colonial agitations for resource control by some ethnic nationalities in Nigeria like the Niger Delta region presented a very important information of the negative impact of amalgamation of these sovereign entities in 1914. Evidence has revealed that the Niger Delta oil-producing communities despite their contributions to the total national revenue, and due to oil spillage and soil degradation, have experienced poverty more than the non-oil producing states. The post-colonial formula for sharing revenue was not favourable. Therefore, the agitations for resource control, restructuring has continued in the area and other part of the country. The process of nation building has been hampered through this injustice in sharing of revenue.

It is however, noted that despite the flaws imbedded in amalgamation, the process hastens and enhanced the existing structure of nation building in the region. That is the amalgamation facilitated socioeconomic growth and development of the county, especially the construction of railway lines and extension from Lagos to the northern part and Enugu to Port-Harcourt which are still existence till date. It has also enhanced politically in the international politics the nationality of the citizens anywhere in the world.

8. Ways to Peace and Sustainable Stability and Nation Building in Nigeria

- Despite the flaws in the amalgamation, Nigeria government could achieve virile socio-political system through constant review of the constitution to suit the various ethnic groups that made up the country. Military regime should be discarded totally in this new dispensation. That is democracy must be embraced by every Nigerian for a lasting and sustainable political development.
- Marginalization of the minorities should be checked for the attainment of sustainable democracy. This is required to give them sense of belonging in national appointment, wealth sharing on equal terms etc.
- Equality of every members of the society is required for sustainable national development and democracy. All tribes and

people must be treated with equity and justice to facilitate nation building.

- There should be participation of all sectors in decision processes within the country, that is, industry and technology, agricultural sector, education, energy resource etc.
- National integration could be accelerated if government is patriotic and liberal to all and sundry, bias and favoritism should be jettisoned, accountability and spirit of love for the nation will enhanced nation building.
- The present political system could be sustained and durable if the political leaders are transparent in governance; absence of self-centeredness, as well as been resolute to forge ahead with laid down principles of democracy for accelerated growth and development in Nigeria present political dispensation.
- The issue of sharing of national revenue should be addressed. It is only when these suggestions are taking into consideration by the government, that Nigeria would achieved the quest for social, economic and political development of the nation.

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The Impact of Religious Fundamentalism on Social Development in Nigeria: A Reflection

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Abstract. Religious fundamentalism is seen as the strict observance of basic important rules and belief with unrestricted commitment by religious extremists. Social development refers the development of social skills and emotional maturity, Social development is about putting people at the centre of development. The defective religious foundation characterized by intolerance, fanaticism and lack of love has led to a number of problems in our society. Bloodshed motivated and masterminded by religious confusion has marred our beloved country for several decades. This is the logical result of the flawed concept and use of religion; the elite use religion for the exclusive purpose of perpetuating domination of the majority. They take advantage of the confusion arising from the issue of the secular nature of the Nigerian state. This paper addressed the brief history of religious fundamentalism in relation to social development in Nigeria, positive and negative fundamentalism in Nigeria, causes of religious fundamentalism in Nigeria, consequences of religious fundamentalism and religious remedies to religious fundamentalism in relation to social development in Nigeria. Historical method was used and books and journals were consulted. This research recommends that all the basic necessities of life be provided by the government as well as employment to enhance ceasefire by extremist- religious fundamentalist.

1. Introduction

Everything which happens in society is as a result of religion because religion teaches society in different ways ranging from culture, behavior and governance. Religion is against murder, theft, and many unlawful acts that take place in the society. It affects our society historically; it has sometimes been used as a means to control the populace. Even now, in some

area, religion affects law. The biggest effect, however, is on the way people behave and their traditions. Society's ways of thinking is being affected and the way people look at issues in the nation emanates from their religious standpoint. This propels conversion and commitment that emphasize choice and rationality over irrationality and indoctrination. Rational explanations for the success of "extreme," "fundamentalist," and "conservative" groups and weakness of more "liberal," "mainstream" groups which affect Christian and Islamic economics is concerned with religiously-oriented critiques of capitalism, socialism, materialism, specific economic practices. It is necessary that religious commitment and religious groups influence the well-being of individuals, families, youth, communities, and nations through right and good moral behaviours that can enhance national development in Nigeria. According to Ugwu (2002:54), religion is defined as "faith and practices involving the relationship between mankind and what are regarded as sacred. Religion generally involves the belief in the Supernatural and a code of ethical behavior more comprehensively". For religion gives humans "A sense that man's relation to the supernatural world is in some way intimately connected with his moral values, with the nature of the goals he is called upon to live for and the rules of conduct he is expected to comply with" (Lessa and Vogt 1979:63). Social development refers to the growth in the social order of a society. khuri, F. (2016) posits: "Social development include development in nature, social institutions, social behaviors, or social matters. Social development attempts to explain qualitative changes in the structure and framework of society, which help the society to better realize its aims and objectives". Development can be broadly defined in a manner applicable to all societies' at all historical periods as

an upward ascending movement featuring greater levels of energy, efficiency, quality, productivity, complexity, comprehension, creativity, mastery, enjoyment and accomplishment. Development is a process of social change, not merely a set of policies and programs instituted for some specific purposes. Therefore, social development is a process that results in the transformation of social structures to improve the capacity of a society in order to fulfill its objectives. Religious fundamentalism as viewed by Iwe (2002:11) is “those with irrational attitude towards religion which leads the religionist to the practice of religion beyond reason and therefore, without moderation”.

2. Brief History of Religious Fundamentalism in Relation to Social Development in Nigeria

Religious fundamentalism is the maintenance of deep literal interpretation and dogged insistence on the traditional beliefs of any religious group, which remains in opposition to other religious beliefs or modern teachings. Fundamentalism may be expressed intra and or extra religiously. Otite and Albert (2004:284) posit:

In course of... historical development, Kano played host to different kinds of Islamic scholars, from North Africa and other parts of neighbouring countries...which introduced to Kano Fundamentalist religious activities that led to development of several Islamic sects in the City.

In 1980 this incubated egg matured and hatched into dreaded monsters which terrorized both individuals and the government of the day. During this time of trouble many lives were lost as property worth of millions vanished with it. There was a violent inter-religious conflict in Kano in October 1982. It was the first major violent reaction of the Muslim against the ascendancy of Christianity in the city. The problem started at Fagge (near the Sabon gari) where some Christians attempted to reconstruct as dilapidated “Christ Church”. The Muslims living around the area felt that the old church was located too close to a mosque. Rather than reconstructing it, they felt the Christians should relocate the church elsewhere. They did everything within their power towards ensuring that the building plans for the new church were not approved by the government. But under police protection, the Christians soon started to reconstruct the church. “The Muslims consequently reacted violently and in the disorder that followed, three churches were burnt by the Muslims and several other churches were vandalized. The federal government resolved this issue by paying N75, 000

as compensation to the Christian Association of Nigeria in Kano” (Otite and Albert, 2004:290). This amount paid for unsolicited destruction by Government did not favour sustainable development.

Otite and Albert (2004:291) hold that in 1991, the charismatic movement in Kano tried to organize a religious crusade to be addressed by a German preacher, Evangelist Reinhard Boonke, and some American preachers. This religious event was widely advertised by the Christian on the electronic media and newspapers. Several thousands of posters and handbills were distributed in Kano and the neighbouring communities. The publicity given to the event later attracted the attention of the Muslims who felt that the crusade must not be allowed to hold in Kano. First, the Muslims accused the government of double standards for failing to grant permission to one Sheikh Deedat from South Africa who had wanted to organize a religious revival for the Muslims in Kano they asked why the same government should grant a license to Reinhard Boonke to preach in Kano, an Islamic city. In this crisis Boonke himself narrowly escaped death as many Nigerian heads rolled without exception of property and the disruption of economic activities. In the midst of such insecurity no meaningful development would go on not to talk of sustainability.

3. Positive and Negative Fundamentalism in Nigeria

By this sub- heading one would readily posit that there are two different faces of religious fundamentalism which include positive and negative fundamentalism. Positive side of religious fundamentalism focuses on the practice of such generally accepted religious moral tenets which lead to the protection of the common good of the society. Take for instance Jesus teaching- The Beatitudes (Matthew 5) and Pauline letter to the Romans on civic responsibility (Romans 13) which are the sources of good citizenship are not injurious to the society but enhance the same. The respect for the mother earth for the traditionalist produces piety which in turn promotes reverence for natural laws or the Muslim acknowledging that the people of the book are the same people of Allah they should not destroy, is the source of peace building and sustainable development.

On the other hand negative fundamentalism manifests itself in violence, wanton destruction of lives and property and disruption of economic

activities. This is inimical to sustainable development as prevalent in Nigeria. Gambari (1973:20) observes: The rise of religious fundamentalism, largely of the Islamic faith but also including some of the Christian sects, constitutes real threats to the delicate balance of forces on the issue of the secular nature of the Nigerian state. Islamic fundamentalists, perhaps emboldened by the establishment of an Islamic Republic in Iran by the cleric Ayatollah Khomeini, intensified their rejection of the idea that religion and politics are separable. Some of their leaders also believe that under the pretext of maintaining the secularism of the Nigerian state, Judeo-Christian values were gaining the upper-hand in Nigeria. It was perhaps in this context that the demands for the extension of Shari'a laws and legal system to cover all areas of Nigeria where Muslims live gained prominence. In any case, the issue of "Shari'a" seriously undermined the proceedings of two Constituent Assemblies (1978 and 1988/89) established to produce the Constitutions for the Second and Third Republics of Nigeria respectively. Both times the Federal Military Government had to step in to arrange compromises which essentially allowed the status quo to continue.

4. Causes of Religious Fundamentalism in Nigeria

Several factors are responsible for religious fundamental minded crisis as we may want to discuss some of them namely;

Intolerance: Intolerance has always showed itself as the major factor responsible for inter and intra religious fundamental crises in the world. For instance the Catholic Church would not tolerate Luther's reform articles, which resulted to a major crisis in the early Church. Diana and Lawrence (2006) said that the Shiite Muslims were not accepted by the Adakwa Gwammaja people for their style of preaching which was said to blaspheme the men of Allah. Other examples abound, like in Kano (1980) where the use of words was the bane of trouble.

Politics: Our desperate politicians now creep in among these religious fanatics in pursuit of their ulterior motives as a leeway to achieve their motive under cover. Indeed the situation is so mixed up than we can separate religiously motivated war from politically engineered aggression. Religious fundamentalism remains the channel of wanton destruction of lives and property, which culminates into retrogression and insecurity that scares away investors, takes its negative toll on our national development. Offi and Adeyi (2001:27), commenting

on the tension in the north blamed religious crisis on our politicians as thus "Relationship between the Christians and Muslims in the Northern Nigeria was tensed up by the introduction of Sharia Islamic Law in the North...and inflammatory statements made by eminent Nigerians of northern extraction" Our politicians most at times appeal to religious fundamentalism and fanaticism as weapons as they weep up sentiments in their favour as they play their game of number.

Youthful exuberance: The general tendency among our youths to exploit every available adventure is also contributory to the problem of religious fundamentalism. The

Young people in their unguided life and utterances enter into arguments that naturally snowball into crisis. None issues are over stretched into hot exchange of words and blows. These overzealous youths create disaffection inter and intra religiously.

Religious Supremacy: Even though Nigeria is said to be a secular state by our constitution the various entities that make up the religious sector of Nigeria are in silent competition of supremacy. Paden (2014) observed that this under cover tendency heightens the rate of intolerance among our religious bodies and like time bomb they erupt at the slightest provocation as evident in Nigeria.

Influence of Non-Nigerians: The influence of Non-Nigerians from neighbouring countries was largely responsible for the Kano religious crisis of the 1980. "Kano played host to...different kinds of foreigners (that) exploited this open door policy of the Kanawa to return Kano into a breeding ground for many kinds of fundamentalists Islamic ideas," as stated by (Oti and Albert:297), with their attendant negative consequences. The panel that probed the Kano crisis came to conclusion that Nigerian border was very porous hence these non-Nigerians infiltrated and raked havoc on us.

5. Consequences of Religious Fundamentalism

The consequences of religious fundamentalism cannot be over emphasized. Its impact is clear for everyone to see. However, this paper considers some of the side effects as:

Exploitation: The fact that all forms of developments thrive only in the atmosphere of peace and concord is indisputably accepted by all as the sunrise expels darkness. And on the other hand it is obvious that no meaningful material or super structural development can be archived as it is certain that no one gets richer by getting and throwing away in any society. Therefore,

as people get uncertain about their lives and property in the lands that are not theirs by tradition and tribe they are nonchalant about the development of their non-traditional host areas. Quite all right it might not be the original intension of such people not to invest outside their traditional areas, but for fear of what could befall them they will prefer to invest in their home States and communities. In this type of attitude development eludes the host communities which are merely reduced to a place of exploitation.

Insecurity: Insecurity which is the opposite of security does not only affect life but development, as no one would like to trust his eggs in a broken basket no matter the number of baskets. There is nothing that scares investors like insecurity. Wogaman (2016:22) states, “No investor would spend money where he or she is not sure of harvesting from. No investor can afford to stand his hand akimbo watching his or her sweat go into flames. Insecurity stops both external and internal investors.” In a state where there are no investors development is usually sluggish. In case the fundamentalists make an area ungovernable there will be no development there, how much more to improve upon what is not even there. No one can improve upon a burnt house or add further utility upon a dead person.

6. Religious Remedies to Religious Fundamentalism in Relation to Social Development in Nigeria

6.1 Provision/Preaching Sustainable Development

Religion has been on the vanguard of challenging the government to care for lives and provide all the necessities of life for the needy and poor masses. Religion has and is still providing basic amenities of life in Nigerian nation. It might be necessary to mention that sustainable development is an umbrella phrase which encapsulates all forms of durable and lasting development whether human (capacity building) or material (structural, economic, social and industrial enhancements). To be particular; development could be referred to as the provision and improvement upon the existent social amenities. The erecting of public buildings, provision and establishment of Schools, Scholarship, Hospitals, judicial system and other necessities that provide protection for our common goods and enhance the well being of the constituents of each society are implied. Development is a process which enables human beings to realize their potentials, build self-confidence, and lead a life of dignity and fulfilment. Okereke, (1999:1) saw development, As the qualitative improvement in the living standard of members of the society...measured by such

indicators as literacy rate, rate of development, the distribution of income, availability of good drinking water, good roads regular supply of electricity, decent housing, medical facilities, and access to them....”

Nweke (2003:7) relates “development and modernization as the x-raying of man’s interest in changing the society to enhance the quality of life issues, which bother on the welfare of man, the society ...” and several social issues. Development, therefore, does not stop at the provision of and accessibility of physical infrastructures, but goes beyond to the provision of mental advancement, capacity building for the organization of the society as modernize existing infrastructures in suit each moment. The progressive rate of developmental acceleration (the safe keeping and enhancement of already provided social amenities) is referred to as the sustainability thereto.

6.2 Preaching of Peace

Developmental sustainability from religious perspective is dependent on one of the cardinal postulations of religion which is peace. Vatican Council (cited in Richardson (1999:76) states that: Peace is not mere absence of war. Nor can it be reduced solely to be maintenance of a balance of power between enemies. Nor is it brought about by dictatorship. Instead, it is rightly and appropriately called, an enterprise of justice (Isa. 32: 7). Peace results from that harmony built into human Society by its divine founder and actualized by men as they thirst after ever greater justice.

Peace which is harmony built into the society is an indispensable factor for sustainable development. Therefore, any religion that does not propagate peace remains inimical to sustainable development in Nigeria. Granted the fact that the preservation of developmental efforts and survival of humanity is predicated upon cordiality and peaceful atmosphere, which religious fundamentalism does not provide, religious fundamentalism remains a retrogressive cankerworm of ramifying negative effect on national developmental efforts. Obviously, religious fundamentalism is an ill wind which blows no one any good.

6.3 Care for the Bereaved and Protection of lives

Novak (2015:45) avers that “Nigerians lost their dear ones to death and the economic backlash is upon the entire world. Series of meeting have been convened and money spent on the activities of these fundamentals that now league or network themselves

into terror gangs". Fortune which ought to have been invested into the advancement of human society is being channelled into the battle against terrorism. The bereaved should not be made to suffer hardship at all because of a dear relative which is very painful. Okoye (cited in Sibani, 2013:33) describes the mood of the bereaved person as grievous. The bereaved person suffers miserably because of the loss and the addition of the responsibilities of the dead one to those being shouldered by the living persons. Otite and Albert (2004:300) categorically states:

The Jos religious crisis past and present show the huddle the nation is jumping through, (while) the introduction of the Shariah legal System in some Northern States brought the country into a standstill. In Kaduna, the clash between the Muslims and the Christians led to the loss of about 1,000 lives.

All these are in the name of religious fundamentalism. The various religious groups in Nigeria indeed leave in fears of each other in a nation of peace and unity. There is no mutual trust among the religious bodies because of religious fundamentalism and fanaticism.

6.4 Preaching Love and Justice

Most Nigerian Christians are firmly holding the form of their religion yet their public practices, actions and behaviors are complete denial of the transforming power of religion which can bring about holistic human flourishing in society. For example, personal happiness and self-centered pursuits become the goal of life rather than righteousness that results in love, justice, and peace with our neighbors. The Nigerian situation is best described by Warren (1995:10) "happiness, not holiness, is the chief pursuit of most people today, including many professed Christians. They want Jesus to solve their problems and carry their burdens, but they don't want Him to control their lives and change their character." However, religious extremism has not allowed Nigerian Christians to connect their religious activities with certain crucial aspects of their social life, particularly the economic life. The Nigerian elites take advantage of our religious extremism for their political, economic and social achievements. It is an alarming reality that in Nigeria the elite have for quite sometimes repositioned religion for their political advantage and to the detriment of the socio-economic benefits of the masses. They have continued to amass wealth which they use to hold the masses in check. Consequently, poverty and unemployment are the lot of our youth. Hence they become easy prey to the political class who uses them as political muggers or weapons of mass destruction.

7. Conclusion

Over the past decade, considerable research has emerged that demonstrates the benefits of religious practice within society. Religious practice promotes the well-being of individuals, families, and the community. Fagan (1996:112) state that studies indicate the benefits of religion to the poor:

Regular attendance at religious services is linked to healthy, stable family life, strong marriages, and well-behaved children. The practice of religion also leads to a reduction in the incidence of domestic abuse, crime, substance abuse, and addiction. In addition, religious practice leads to an increase in physical and mental health, longevity, and education attainment. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

Given the extent to which religious practice promotes civil society, understanding religion's contribution to the nation's constitutional order is fundamental to the nation's continued prosperity. The practice of religion is a powerful antidote to many of our nation's pressing social problems, many of which have reached historically high proportions. Yet, despite the societal benefits of religion, the expression of faith in the public square has faced many challenges. Therefore, legislators should seek constitutionally appropriate ways to explore the impact of religious practice on society and, where appropriate, recognize its role and importance for a sustainable development of the nation. The practice of religion improves health, academic achievement, and economic well-being and fosters self-control, self-esteem, empathy, and compassion. Religious belief and practice can address many of the nation's most pressing social problems, some of which have reached serious levels (e.g., out-of-wedlock births and family dissolution). Research has linked the practice of religion to reductions in the incidence of divorce, crime, delinquency, drug and alcohol addiction, out-of-wedlock births, health problems, anxiety, and prejudice. Faith-based outreach has been uniquely effective in drug addiction rehabilitation and societal re-entry programs for prisoners. Furthermore, the effects of religious belief and practice are intergenerational and cumulative. In a sense, they "compound the interest" of our social capital.

Freedom from an established religion is compatible with the freedom to fully practice one's religious beliefs. This freedom is very different from purported

protection from religious influence. To work to reduce the influence of religious belief or practice is to further the disintegration of society. Some may be uncomfortable with the religious beliefs and practices of others, but that discomfort is small compared to the effects of having a society with little or no religious practice.

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Local Government and the Constitution: The Nigerian Experience

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Abstract. What is or should be the research relationship between local government and the constitution? How can the research relationship be explored? What should be the investigative parameters and criteria? Put more directly, what form of relationship exists or should exist between local government and the constitution? How can the relationship be investigated? Of more fundamental necessity, is there any justification to investigate the relationship? Consequently, of what relevance is the study of the relationship to scholarship? The questions are crucial to both the understanding of the *theory* and *practice* of federalism and to the specialty, local government studies in Nigeria in particular. Apart from assisting in creating scholarly avenues for a profound study of power interplays in federally organized systems, part of the objectives of the paper is to as well place the Nigerian experience under close scrutiny and perhaps use it to generate issues and problems of comparative research that would in turn impact tremendously on generalization and theory building within the sub-field and specialty. Data sources are secondary and this can be justified by the nature of the research topic and the attendant core/research questions. The mode of analysis is descriptive, qualitative, historical and philosophical.

Keywords: Local Government, Constitution, Nigerian Experience.

1. Introduction

The study of local government and the constitution, within the context of informed scholarship, should be preceded by asking very important illuminating questions: How should the subject matter of research and academic engagement be rigorously, comprehensively and critically approached? What does the issue of approach hope to draw our attention to? How can the approach be systematically

presented in such a way and manner that all the related issues and problems of scholarship on the subject matter are brought to the fore of critical engagement, scrutiny of examination and balanced discussion and analysis? How can the above questions and issues individually and collectively shape and influence contemporary local government studies?

It is here noted that contemporary Local Government Studies as a disciplinary and academic engagement requires regular fine-tuning of its contents and methods. The issues and problems of research as already established should be placed within the context of a changing world and dynamics. The relationships between it and other disciplines such as Political Science, Law, among others, need therefore be constantly assessed and evaluated so as to be able to ascertain its unique identity among the humanities at large and especially in relation to creating and delineating a focus of study under the changing dynamics necessitated by the combined consequences and effects of globalization and the internationalization of knowledge on the subject matter. The study of local government consequently requires comprehensiveness of approach to be able to accommodate the aforementioned dynamics.

The dynamism, I should further emphasize, has the advantage of injecting into the study an important point capable of reintroducing into local government discourse the issue of relevance and justification, and the extent of the amplification of the existing contents and methods of study when considered from the perspective of the opportunity to reinvent and recreate hitherto established disciplinary engagements. Important to the reinvention and recreation especially from the perspective of the Third World in particular, is the constitution. The constitution unarguably provides the ample

opportunities from the academic perspective of study, to re-conceptualize the knowledge and understanding of local government as already provided for in extant literature (see, Campbell, 1963; Cowan, 1958; Gboyega, 1981; Gboyega, 1983; among others). There is consequently the imperative need especially from the perspective of the political theory of federalism to interrogate the extent to which local government is indeed a third-tier level of government. The justification for the focus exists further in the fact that the constitution is the fundamental legal charter of any country or social organization. As the fundamental legal charter describing and detailing the structural arrangement of the institutions of government and ensuring the realization of the attendant purposes and goals of the State, the constitution, to be able to ensure the proper knowledge and understanding of the workings of government especially in political systems with federal parameters, should be creatively approached in relation to the advancement of scholarship. Part of the knowledge creativity is the idea of the relationship here formulated as the framework of organization of the ongoing research into the subject matter. The understanding of the relationship should unarguably be predicated on the provisions of any constitution in relation to the local government as a tier of government.

The question, at this juncture, can now be asked: What precisely is meant by a third-tier level of government, and to what extent is the description and characterization a valid one? What a third-tier level of government is within the existing classical interpretation and analysis of federalism should not entertain any controversy. But the necessity behind the distinction between federal and federalizing societies especially in relation to the level of federal sophistication compels the need to critically engage the notion of local government as a third-tier level of government. This no doubt helps to advance contemporary local government studies. Engaging and clarifying the controversies enveloping the notion of local government as a third-tier level of government requires integrating it with the Third World political experience using a particular case study. In relation to the study, a proper example of the Third World is Nigeria. Within the experience therefore, Nigeria provides the much-needed opportunity to, using the lenses of contemporaneity, interrogate the embedded academic and intellectual issues involved in the reinvention, redefinition and recreation of the knowledge and understanding of local government as a third-tier level of government.

The above preamble throws up the very important research question: What is to be achieved by using the experience of Nigeria? The Nigerian experience, without running the risk of repetition, not only provides and justifies the basis for the reinvention and recreation of the study of local government, but further helps particularly in the formulation and development of special parameters and indices with which to undertake the reinvention, recreation and redefinition. What consequently are these parameters and indices? Something that is considered again very important and fundamental should precede their mentioning and articulation. The parameters and indices, it is important to note, should be capable of helping in the organization of the study. In other words, especially against the provided goals and objectives, the parameters and indices should provide in technical and epistemological terms, the academic and intellectual framework with which to integrate the many wandered parts of the study as already located in the constitution. What therefore are the theoretical and empirical relationships between local government and the constitution? Within what intellectual outlook should the study of the relationship be based? Put more directly, how are the constitution and local government related? Has the relationship any specific character and or form? What is the basis of the relationship, and how can this be explained? All the questions try to examine the critical issues in the idea of local government, and how the idea in turn fosters development. Beyond this, there is the need to provide the necessary intellectual basis for discussing local government within the broad framework of the constitution, a neglected area of research in local government studies. It is hoped that the discussion here engaged will help to advance the discourse on local government beyond the theoretically and politically mundane matters to issues of critical substance in law and political theory, the supposed foundations of local government thoughts.

The above research engagement as already posed requires further amplification. How, it is here being asked, should the subject matter (local government and the constitution) be approached? This is indeed a very big question. Approaching the answer to the question compels critical interrogation of the relationships between the two from the perspective of clarity of knowledge and understanding. Nigeria, it is here argued, provides fascinating experience, especially given the tardiness of her developmental directions and the uniqueness of her party politics. It is perhaps the only country in the world where a constitution was prepared (the 1989 Constitution), but was never put to use. It is in addition the only

country in the world where violations of constitutional provisions especially in relation to the structure and operations of the local government are taken as normal and therefore not queried with perhaps the possible exception of the elected local government executives of Oyo State (prelude to the May 29, 2007 hand over date) who decided to challenge their dissolution in court by Mr. Adebayo Alao-Akala, the then Executive Governor of Oyo State, Nigeria. The constitution of any country is usually its fundamental legal charter. It is considered as the fundamental legal charter because it defines the framework of government, and goes ahead to specify the structure of governmental operations and processes. As argued by Wheare (1953), it is an essential precondition of the "federal principle". Multiple as these preconditions are, the striking difference remains the cumbersomeness in its amendment procedures and hence the characterization, rigid and flexible constitutions. The postulation of Wheare leads one to ask the question: Is local government indeed a third-tier level of government so recognized by the constitution? To what extent is this characteristic of federal system, and what is the extent of variation and compliance?

Beyond defining the framework of government, the constitution gives power to every tier of government and goes ahead to provide a limitation as well. To what extent does the Nigerian constitution give political power to local government, and what is the amount of same that is so given? In other words, to what extent does the constitution recognize local government as a tier of government? How is this recognition protected, and by what enabling legal instruments? Answers to these and other questions shall constitute the preoccupation of the paper. Towards this end, the paper is divided into the following parts. Part one presents and discusses the specific context of interrogation and investigation by making important and essential clarifications relevant to comprehending the paper and the contained theses and arguments. Part two focuses on further elaboration of the relationship between local government and the constitution from the perspective of enhanced critical discussion and analysis. Part three extends further the issues raised in the theoretical elaboration within the context of a developmental perspective, while part four critically discusses and analyzes the Nigerian experience of the academic interrogation of local government and the constitution. Part five further situates the Nigerian experience within the epistemological issues in comparative research methodologies on the subject matter. Part six provides the conclusion to the paper.

2. Conceptual Clarifications and Context Specification

The keywords: local government, constitution, and the Nigerian experience require urgent clarifications. What really are they, and within what specific contexts are they being made use of in the paper? Their operationalization requires particular appreciations within the context of the ongoing investigation. The above particularly explains the need for the clarifications as here being accomplished.

Local government, native administrative system, local government administration, local development administration, local councils, and local council areas, within the context of the political development of Nigeria, acquire almost the same meaning of understanding to the extent that extant literature fail to appreciate the technicalities in their distinctions. Though the elective principle remains the distinguishing criterion of explanation and understanding, the fact that this principle is particularly abused in the Nigerian case helps to emphasize the need for the attendant clarifications. This is further strengthened by the fact that the abuse is not only a military phenomenon/attribute, it happens as well under democratically constituted regimes.

Looking at or defining local government from the standard provided by the United Nations Division of Public Administration or as interpreted by scholars in extant literature has the capability of entrenching misinformation and misunderstanding especially within the context of the Nigerian experience. Apart from the point mentioned above in relation to the elective principle, the area of local government in Nigeria suffers from yardsticks that are lacking in dependability and reliability essentially because of the nature of politics, and further as a result of the political development of the Nigerian State necessitated by certain exigencies and the realized need to accelerate development especially at the grassroots level.

Since the 1950s especially following the initiation of the series of reforms that in the end brought about a unified service in the operations of the local government, local government areas keep on acquiring new adjustments and boundary demarcations as a result of states creation in particular. Local government areas, it must be mentioned, are related to their numbers in Nigeria, and each state, especially since 1976, has an average of between Sixteen (16) and Forty Four (44)

respectively. By the 1999 Constitution (as amended), there are Seven Hundred and Seventy Four (774) local government areas in Nigeria legally entitled to the monthly allocation from the Federation Account. Lagos State for instance has Local Community Development Areas (LCDAs) which, by the State Law, enjoy the same status of legal recognition, and being operated and managed administratively by a Local Government Service Commission of the State whose scope of authority covers the entire local government system of the State. While the 1999 Constitution (as amended) put the total number of local governments in the State at Twenty (20), in reality, the State has a total number of Fifty Seven (57). This is the Nigerian experience that the paper tries to capture.

The peculiarity of Nigeria further exists in the fact that states in the country with local community development areas just like Lagos have a way of ensuring revenue sharing between and among the local governments recognized by the constitution and the local community development areas. It should in addition be mentioned that even though the 1999 Constitution (as amended) recognizes the need for development areas, it however, envisages that these development areas should be integrated into, rather than being independent of, the parent local government politically and administratively. These local community development areas, it should be clearly emphasized, are practically distinct politically and administratively, and perform functions prescribed and legislated by the 1999 Constitution (as amended) to the extent that in clear, analytical terms, they are indeed local governments technically speaking and so described and labelled as such in the paper.

Constitution, here conceived, is the body of laws defining the power relations between and among both the organs and tiers of government, and in addition describing and detailing the purposes of government/state. Constitution, when amplified further within the context of the above understanding, is that written source of document imbued with complex processes and procedures of amendment. The definitions, as provided, exclude the arrangement of a political system from a fundamental framework of largely unwritten laws and traditions and simple processes and procedures of amendment. It is only within the context of specification and clarity that the paper should derive its understanding from.

Local government and the constitution, within the context of the Nigerian experience, seek the interrogation of the subject matter from the

assumption of a relationship for the purpose of academic exploration and analysis. The relationship between the two in turn seeks the formulation and development of propositions that are capable of eliminating the inherent ambiguities in the understanding of the subject matter. The place of the local government in the Nigerian constitution i.e. the 1999 Constitution (as amended) deserves special investigation not only to determine the extent to which it is autonomous and independent especially from the state, but more importantly to justify its existence especially from the perspective of its purpose as a tier of government. Given the federal framework of Nigeria, the study, examination and analysis of the place of the local government in the constitution is important and crucial to addressing the challenges and problems of contemporary Nigerian society.

3. Local Government and the Constitution in Nigeria: Further Theoretical Substantiation and Exploits

The academic and intellectual exploration of the subject matter of research, local government and the constitution unarguably requires further amplification. The immediate questions then become: (1) What is the nature of the amplification? and (2) How is this accomplished in the paper? The amplification aims at further formulation and development of relevant academic indices and parameters essential for its comprehension, examination, discussion and analysis. The focus of the amplification hence involves clear-cut specification of the tools of knowledge especially in relation to the realization of the aforementioned goals. The tools of knowledge represent the body of ideas serving the purpose of clarity of understanding with respect to the comprehension of the relationship between local government and the constitution. The amplification further technically requires an in-depth probe into the actual understanding of the relationship approached from the perspective of federalism. In other words, any justification and or elaboration of the relationship between the two require deep and profound study of federalism. This is so because only in relation to federalism can the relationship be properly understood in its logical and empirical contexts. The position, no doubt, seems to neglect the fact that the relationship between local government and the constitution is also a feature of unitary systems as well. However, the standard measurement of the status of the local government as recognized and provided for in the constitution and law can only be adequately and sufficiently tested

within the federal framework of government, it is here submitted.

The reading of federalism from the classical perspective suggests to one that it is all about the sharing and allocation of political powers in such a way that the composite units remain independent and yet coordinate. Surprising enough, the classical understanding of federalism is of limited value to the ongoing analysis. This is because the federalists concerned themselves with power relations between the centre and the states to the detriment of the local government. The local government was least thought of as a tier of arrangement in the original formulation of federalism. It is only consequential today that federal constitutions expect the states to make laws for the structure, organization and operations of the local government like in Nigeria. This is indeed a major limitation to the task of examining the relationship between the local government and the constitution since the initial/pioneering effort was targeted only at defending the states from the likely excesses of the central government as envisaged. The connection and or relationship between local government and the constitution should hence be looked at from three principal angles. These angles are: (a) the extent to which the constitution serves as the source of political power for the local government, or the extent to which we can say that the local government derives its existence (legally and politically) from the constitution, (b) the extent to which the sources of its funding are defined clearly by the constitution, and (c) the extent to which its relationships with other tiers of government is either defined or provided for in the constitution.

As Source of Political Power: To what extent does the local government derive its power from the constitution? The Nigerian constitution, the 1999 Constitution (as amended), like other constitutions of the global political systems, both defines and declares the structural and organizational arrangement of government into three as the legislature, executive and judiciary, and as national/federal, state and local. It goes further to divide and allocate political powers, functions, duties and responsibilities as residual, concurrent and exclusive in line with federal parameters and purposely create what it calls the "Federal Executive Bodies". In what the Constitution describes as "Schedules" and further arranged in "Parts", it finally provides limits to the powers of the tiers and organs of government and all these contained in the referred to "Schedules" and "Parts".

Chapter 1, Part II, Section 7 of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) clearly states that: "...the system of

local government by democratically elected local government councils is under this Constitution guaranteed; and accordingly, the Government of every State shall, subject to section 8 of this Constitution, ensure their existence under a Law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils". Notwithstanding the likelihood of peculiarities between and among the states of the Nigerian federation, the Constitution broadly categorizes and labels the functions of the local government as "main" and other functions. The main functions include: (a.) the consideration and the making of recommendations to a State commission on economic planning or any similar body on- (i.) the economic development of the State, particularly in so far as the areas of authority of the council and of the State are affected, and (ii.) proposals made by the said commission or body; (b.) collection of rates, radio and television licences; (c.) establishment and maintenance of cemeteries, burial grounds and homes for the destitute or infirm; (d.) licensing of bicycles, trucks (other than mechanically propelled trucks), canoes, wheel barrows and carts; (e.) establishment, maintenance and regulation of slaughter houses, slaughter slabs, markets, motor parks and public conveniences; (f.) construction and maintenance of roads, streets, street lightings, drains and other public highways, parks, gardens, open spaces, or such public facilities as may be prescribed from time to time by the House of Assembly of a State; (g.) naming of roads and streets and numbering of houses; (h.) provision and maintenance of public conveniences, sewage and refuse disposal; (i.) registration of all births, deaths and marriages; (j.) assessment of privately owned houses or tenements for the purpose of levying such rates as may be prescribed by the House of Assembly of a State; and (k.) control and regulation of- (i.) out-door advertising and hoarding, (ii.) movement and keeping of pets of all description, (iii.) shops and kiosks, (iv.) restaurants, bakeries and other places for sale of food to the public, (v.) laundries, and (vi.) licensing, regulation and control of the sale of liquor. The other functions as stated in the Constitution include: "...participation of such council in the Government of a State as respects the following matters- (a.) the provision and maintenance of primary, adult and vocational education; (b.) the development of agriculture and natural resources, other than the exploitation of materials; (c.) the provision and maintenance of health services; and (d.) such other functions as may be conferred on a local government council by the House of Assembly of the State".

Fund Generation and Taxation: The revenues and funds available to the local government in Nigeria can be divided into two as internal and external. The external include grants and special allocation from the state, monthly allocation from the Federation Account, ecological funds, etc. The Nigerian 1999 Constitution (as amended) further provides in the same Section 7, Part II, Chapter 1, specific funds for the local government serving as internal revenue sources. These include: “(a.) collection of rates, radio and television licences; (b.) establishment and maintenance of cemeteries, burial grounds and homes for the destitute or infirm; (c.) licensing of bicycles, trucks (other than mechanically propelled trucks), canoes, wheel barrows and carts; (d.) establishment, maintenance and regulation of slaughter houses, slaughter slabs, markets, motor parks and public conveniences; among others”.

Inter-governmental Relations: The status of the local government, from the perspective of the ongoing discussion and analysis, has greater relevance of consideration and academic engagement further within the scope of intergovernmental relations provided by the constitution of any country. Local government in Nigeria, notwithstanding the provision of the constitution to the effect that states are to make the laws for their operations, among others, enjoys the status of government in the existing forms of relations within the federal context of intergovernmental relations. Relations: local-local, local-state, local-federal as already exhibited in the matrixes of intergovernmental relations theory of the federal type, have their existence in Nigeria especially in relation to governmental practices. One should note that state-local relation, within the larger context of intergovernmental relations is however the dominant type. Lately, concerns about security matters in the face of armed banditry, kidnapping, terrorism, etc., still within the larger framework of state-state relations embedded in sub-national and regional trappings, have both necessitated and compelled the initiation and institutionalization of local-local relations as an emerging character of contemporary intergovernmental relations and further in the collection of hackney permits and other constitutionally approved rates, again, in the face of COVID-19 pandemic.

The above tools of knowledge and understanding relevant for the intellectual and academic amplification of the formulated indices and parametres with which to undertake critical and comprehensive study of the relationship between local government and the constitution need be further placed within the traditional theory of the organizational and structural arrangement of the

state/government. Why? This is because the theory provides the required knowledge about the subject matter. The organizational and structural arrangements of government/state provide useful information about the time of political/governmental system as they exist globally. The labeling and description of government/state as federal or unitary and their further organizational arrangements into legislature, executive and judiciary help in the appreciation of role of the constitution as the custodian of all interaction and activities with particular regard to how political powers are being exercised. The constitution as the custodian of power relations between and among the tiers of government in federal political systems therefore clearly defines the embedded power relations. The constitution hence provides an important framework for the study of local government in both federal and unitary political systems.

The justifications for the focus on the constitution and using it to undertake a critical study of the local government further exists in the fact that the tools of knowledge and understanding as here formulated and developed benefit from some of the contained ideas. In other words, some of the ideas as contained in the constitution such as the principles of separation of powers, checks and balances, rule of law, among others, in specific and broad terms, provide the intellectual stimuli with which to engage the critical and comprehensive study of the relationship between local government and the constitution. The responsibility of the scrutiny of the position/status of the local government in the Nigerian federal system for instance is unarguably anchored in the guiding principles in which the provisions of the constitution in relation to the scrutiny are based.

The ongoing justifications and rationalizations need be finally situated within the context of the enabling framework of analysis, academic disquisitions and school of thought. The latter is supported by the fact that the research and academic engagement require a perspective of knowledge and understanding as already established in extant literature within the embedded opportunity to address and fill-up the existing gaps. The umbrella framework of analysis is liberalism broadly and expansively interpreted and further amplified using the propertied constituents of democracy and constitutionalism. The latter inevitably leads us to the examination and analysis of the democratic school of thought in relation to the discourse on local government.

The above requires further careful specification. And this is here accomplished from the following

dimensions including: political representation, political education, political participation, and political accountability and transparency. The argument that local government is the hub of democracy stems from the realization that its existence enables the realization of the aforementioned in relation to ensuring the participation, representation and monitoring of governmental affairs by local communities. The proximity of local communities to a governmental arrangement and authority, the understanding and believe that they own it, the representation afforded them within the framework, the attendant struggles and competitions between and among the local communities in relation to the processes and procedures of decision-making with particular regard to all "allocation of values", the engendered responsibility and responsiveness accompanying the processes and consequences of decision-making and decisions arrived at, the embedded political education with particular regard to institutionalizing and sustaining social mobilization and governmental legitimacy, the necessities for campaigns and preparations for elections critical to the renewal of political mandates, individually and collectively, help both in the establishment and sustenance of democracy and democratic political culture at the local government level. The democratic justification for allowing the existence of local government consequently receives the much needed strength from this summary provided by Gboyega (1987:5): "...local government extends participation to sections of the community that otherwise would not participate in the political process". The opportunity, one can further argue, provides the much needed training in the art and science of public administration and management. More fundamental and critical to this portion of the section of the paper is, and as brilliantly articulated by Gboyega (1987:6): "...how is all this related to democracy"? He provides the answer: "It has been observed that local government has the potential to educate people in citizenship. It is also a training ground for national leaders, even if the significance of this is minimal. Lastly, it permits citizen-control of public officials and redress of grievances because of the elective element in the selection of councillors". (Ibid:6)

As argued by Langrod (1953), Moulin (1954), among others, because local government is considered "antithetical to democracy", perhaps explains the need to anchor its democratic bases and justifications within the framework of the constitution and the adherence to its principle, the principle of constitutionalism i.e. the supremacy of the constitution. Consequently, local government as the

fundamental instrument of allowing and encouraging the involvement of local communities in the management of their affairs compels the need for its accommodation and protection within the patterned and established structural organization and arrangement of government as already defined within the framework of the constitution as the fundamental legal charter of any country. Local government therefore exists not only as an extension of the central governmental authority, but as well as a tier of government with its scope, authority and sphere of competence clearly defined, protected and guaranteed.

4. Local Government and the Constitution in Nigeria: Further Theoretical Substantiation and Exploits

The Nigerian focus of the research compels further examination, discussion and analysis from the perspective of developmental orientation. What is the latter all about? The starting point will be to state very clearly that a developmental orientation is a kind of mode of analysis that is anchored in history. What consequently are its hallmarks? As mentioned, it focuses on the knowledge and understanding of history approached from the perspective of the contestation of forces between the old and the new. More explicitly, it is a form of analysis that is intended to interrogate the subject matter of local government and the constitution in Nigeria from the perspective of its political development. And this political development is placed within the dominant post-independence constitutions: 1963, 1979 and 1999 (as amended). The point as here made is that the relationship between local government and the constitution is better understood from the angle and perspective of the political development of Nigeria as already anchored in important/landmark legal frameworks and instruments as earlier mentioned. The application and utilization of the perspective hence involves the examination, discussion, scrutiny and analysis of the provisions of the legal enablement carefully and systematically arranged in relation to the subject matter of research and scholarly engagement.

What therefore are the provisions of these constitutions in relation to the local government in Nigeria? More compelling and urgent should however, be the examination and analysis of the political development of Nigeria in relation to the knowledge and understanding of the local government. In other words, important to the body of the ongoing discussion and analysis should be how the history of the political development of Nigeria

provides important information about the understanding and knowledge of the subject matter of local government in the country. This means that the understanding and knowledge of local government in Nigeria require a probe into its history. The history helps to provide the essential knowledge and the required information about today's relationship between local government and the constitution in the country.

Local government/local government administration in the technical sense of analysis when broadly applied to the Nigerian situation came following the Local Government Reform of 1976. This is not to however, say that there was no local government in the country before then. The year, 1976, marked a watershed in the annals of local government. The referred to Reform provided for a unified local government service throughout the country, among others, with particular regard to neat and clear specification of its scope, functions and sundry matters. Important to the paper therefore is the history of the local government in Nigeria.

According to Gboyega (1987:8): "In Nigeria, there have been four epochs in the development of local government and each has been characterized by a distinct set of philosophical beliefs regarding the ultimate purposes of local government". He continues: "These sets of philosophical beliefs, during each epoch, justified and determined the institutional arrangements which were established for the purposes of local government" (Ibid:8). The first epoch lasted between the inception of colonial administration and the rejection of the Native Authority System in the 1950s. The second was the period of local government reforms in 1951 and 1952 respectively in both the then Eastern and Western Regions. The third epoch comprised of the first phase of military rule which lasted between 1966 and 1975. The fourth and final was considered the most significant because: "...it was a return to the era of participatory local government" (Ibid:10). And this lasted between 1976 and 1984 when another coup d'état was staged and led by Generals Buhari and Idiagbon.

The nature of critical scholarship demands the question: How valid are the above epochal descriptions and characterizations of the local government in Nigeria? To what extent have the descriptions and characterizations provided important knowledge useful for the development of generalizations? And lastly, to what extent have the developments that happened after the 1984 coup d'état created solid basis for a reconsideration and

reinvention of the epochal descriptions and characterizations? Epochs, in relation to the advancement of scholarship, stand as a body of ideas with distinct identities formulated to enable the understanding of events within well-defined parameters and standards of accomplishment. The epochal characterizations and descriptions of local government in Nigeria hence provide that avenue of human understanding and knowledge relevant to the appreciation of the subject matter when approached from the perspective of enabling the accumulation of data especially by helping in the enthronement and sustenance of investigations with comparative insights, consequences and effects. Their relevance further exists in the provision of a ready idea and knowledge with which to begin the study and analysis of the Nigerian local government system without resorting to either guesses or theoretical extrapolations. However, important developments and events especially beginning from 1985 with the presidential innovations and the many infractions on the idea of an elected local government system as both provided and guaranteed by the 1999 Constitution (as amended) since the return to the Fourth Republic are strong enough to elongate the epochal characterizations and descriptions beyond the existing level. This particularly attests to the dynamic nature of life and its political components and provides further indications with respect to the limitations of the periodization approach which is what the epochal characterizations and descriptions tend to project, amplify and justify as the reliable basis with which to anchor the knowledge and understanding of local government in Nigeria. A significant limitation, among others, is the overlapping nature of the periods thereby making distinctions between and among them difficult to indicate, stress and emphasize. For example, the period of the rejection of Native Administrative System coincided with the period of the introduction of reforms in the entire periods shortly before the attainment of independence in 1960. The first and second phases therefore suffer from interpenetrations.

The first phase of local government administration in Nigeria came with the imposition of colonial rule and was therefore perfectly described as the Native Administrative System comprising of four interdependent parts which, according to Gboyega (1987:14), included: "(i) the Resident who provided direction and control; (ii) the Native Authority, usually headed by a chief who enjoyed legitimacy under the indigenous political system, often supported by a council of elders; (iii) the Native Treasury; and (iv) the Native Court composed of the representatives of the native administration". These

structures of local administration came under the principle/policy of indirect rule. It was a huge success in the Northern Region of the country with degrees of varied successes in both the Western and Eastern Regions.

The gradual process of the modernization of the Nigerian society made possible through the Christian religion and western education, opened up the opportunities to challenge the colonial authorities and framework of political administration just as the call for de-colonization started to gather momentum within the instrumentalities and frameworks of nationalism and the attendant struggles and agitations. The arrival of the elites upon their graduation from metropolitan universities as professional lawyers, doctors, journalists, academics, among others, stirred the existing arrangement of power relations, and the open challenge to the authorities of the chiefs and other traditional chieftaincy holders. In addition, the formation of political parties by the nationalists influenced and propelled the call for democratization of traditional political set-ups and arrangements that the colonialists met and sustained for the primary objective of colonialism. The challenge and opposition brought about the first reform of the local government in Nigeria which took place in the 1950s, specifically 1951 in Eastern Region, and 1952 in Western Region, following the promulgation of the Local Government Law.

Even though the various colonial Head of administration in the country had their constitutions and same named after them, the provisions of these constitutions were not specifically in relation to the local government. Native Administration, as called, was both regionalized and localized without any integration into the central framework of colonial administration. By 1946, following the introduction of the Richard Constitution which attempted the injection of federal arrangement into the administration of Nigeria and further elaboration of same following the constitutions of Macpherson and Lyttleton, local government was still denied any significant status as a tier of government until the promulgation of the earlier referred to Local Government Law of 1952 in the Western Region of Nigeria for example which only attempted to democratize it.

Following the coup d'état of January 1966, the 1963 Republican Constitution was suspended thus further reducing the chances of the recognition of local government as a tier of government. The third epoch of the local government came into being especially

following the experiences of the Civil War compelled by the need to facilitate the rapid development of the Eastern Region in particular within the launched reconstruction programme of the Federal Military Government. The military regimes of between 1966 and 1975, confronted with the inherited problem of the democratic management of the local government, in 1976, came up with the first ever comprehensive standardization of local government reforms in the political history of Nigeria. Among others, the reforms brought about the idea of a unified local government service and with clear specific functions formulated within the scope of its governmental operations and arrangements. The new status of the local government received the attention of the de-militarization and re-civilianization processes of military disengagement from politics leading to the promulgation of the 1979 Second Republic Constitution. The above analysis completed the fourth epochal phase of local government in Nigeria.

What can we further say about the scholarly focus on the relationship between local government and the constitution broadly speaking, and with particular reference to Nigeria? The question props up important issues and matters of critical intellectual engagements within the ambit of local government studies in particular. What are these issues and matters, and how relevant are they in terms of intellectual and academic focus? The paper's creativity and original contribution to knowledge on the subject matter derives its strength and vitality when these issues and matters are both carefully and methodically identified, and further rigorously and critically examined and analyzed.

Firstly, there is the issue/matter/problem in relation to the organization of the investigation. In other words, how well can the relationship between local government and the constitution be organized to reveal the important areas of concern? The organization should take into consideration the relationships between and among disciplines on the subject matter in such a way that the advantage that is inherent in such inter-disciplinary opportunities helps to both explain and amplify the conceptual interpretation and analysis of the idea of relationship, and further with respect to enhancing the understanding and knowledge of a subject matter imbued with very interesting intellectual and academic significance. In the problem of organization is as well the related issue of the determination of the relevant themes and their further arrangement into sub-themes.

Secondly, the study of the relationship between local government and the constitution in addition requires

settling the issue/problem relating to theoretical approach and its appropriateness and suitability. The question of what theory that is significant for the purpose of aiding the accomplishment of targets as set is very vital. Because theory is significant for the purpose of performing important tasks and responsibilities such as description, explanation and prediction, in relation to the knowledge and understanding of the subject matter, there is the compelling need to determine the suitability and appropriateness of such a theory. Suitability and appropriateness become measures with which to ascertain the relevance of the choice of theory.

Thirdly, the formulation and development of reliable generalizations emanating from the study of the relationship between local government and the constitution obviously depend on the extent of comparative exploits. Comparison helps to reveal the differences and similarities between and among our case studies so that information obtained from the study and investigation can have elements of comprehensiveness and detailed examination and analysis. The accumulation of data over a period further helps in the establishment of a pattern from which dependable generalizations can be formulated and developed.

In addition, there is as well the issue/problem of focus. The issue/problem presents itself in terms of what the study of the relationship should address. Local government and the constitution, as an academic engagement, have relevance of study, examination and analysis only within the satisfaction of the criterion of clear, concise and specific area of the engendered study, examination and analysis. A clear focus of study provides the much needed information about the specificity of the research engagement and pre-occupation thereby helping in the making of distinctions and clarifications between and among the issues demanding our scholarly attention.

Furthermore, the research and academic engagement on the subject matter of the relationship between local government and the constitution should be capable of adequately enhancing public policy prescriptions. The scope of the functions of local government, the relationship between it and the other tiers of government especially in federal political systems, its sources of funding, management structure, responses to exigencies, among others, which are no doubt constitutional matters, require the type of investigation and orientation that should lead to significant reduction in the problems of social life through recommendations that are capable of leading

to the formulation and development of relevant public policies. But the fact that in Nigeria the 1999 Constitution (as amended) stipulates that states are to make laws for the operations of the local government raises great concerns about the autonomy of the local government and therefore constitutes hindrance to the ability of the local government to be able to discharge their constitutional functions most competently.

Finally, the fact that the study of the relationship compels the need for inter-disciplinary collaboration between and among academic areas of engagement demands that the focus of the collaboration should be clearly spelt-out. But this is very problematic. It is problematic in the sense that the study of the local government requires equal emphasis on both the behavioural and institutional components. While the lawyers for instance should be interested in the legality and illegality that are associated with the exercise of powers, the political scientist on the study of the power relations between and among the tiers of government, the historian on the growth, development and consequences of the events as they unfolded over time, the economist on the economics and fiscal aspects of the financial relationships between local government and the other tiers of government as spelt-out in the constitution, among others, yet, there is still the concern about whether or not all these areas can be individually examined without rubbing on others. There is the further concern whether a focus on one should be able to provide the much needed detailed information and comprehensiveness of knowledge useful for the formulation and development of dependable generalizations.

5. Local Government and the Constitution: The Nigerian Experience

How should this sub-section of the paper be approached notwithstanding the contained clarity of focus? This question has become important given the facts that the 1963 First Republican Constitution lacked anything on local government, and the Third Republican Constitution, the 1989 Constitution, was never put to use. The emerging contention is however here resolved by the deliberate choice to rely on both the Second Republican and Fourth Republican Constitutions (1979 and 1999) to undertake the associated analysis.

5.1 The 1979 Constitution

The processes that led to the framing of the 1979 constitution are already well documented by Gboyega (1979). It is however, significant to note

that for the first time in the history of Nigeria, local government (in name and constitutional responsibilities) was embedded in a comprehensive legal documentation in both theory and practice, especially as the theory and practice relate to the “federal principle”. This of course can be traced to the 1976 Local Government Reform, in particular it’s associated “Guidelines”. Local Government is explicitly provided for in Chapter One, Part Two of the 1979 Constitution. Section 7 (1) of the constitution declares unequivocally that: “The system of local government by democratically elected local government councils is under this constitution guaranteed: and accordingly, the Government of every State shall ensure their existence under a law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils. Sub-sections 1,2,3,4,5 and 6 equally address fundamental issues relating to the creation, area delineation/demarcation, public revenue sharing and the role of the local government in economic development planning, among others. Part One of the First Schedule of the 1979 Constitution did not only mention the number of States in Nigeria, but also the number of local governments per each state of the federation. The ideas were indeed novel.

5.2 The 1999 Constitution (as amended)

The 1999 Constitution (as amended), in Section 7, like that of the 1979 Constitution, word for word, recognizes: “The system of local government by democratically elected local government councils...” Other provisions of it in relation to the critical issues/matters of creation, boundary or area delineation/demarcation, role in economic development planning, among others, can as well be traced to the 1979 Constitution, same Section 7, Sub-sections 1, 2,3,4,5 and 6. It is not just enough in the paper, it is here being argued, to undertake a cursory examination of the relationship between local government and the constitution by only looking at the extent to which the 1979 and the 1999 Constitutions either attempted to recognize local government as a tier of government within the Nigerian federal framework, or determine the extent to which the various constitutions give recognition to the need for local government. It is here reasoned, and within the context of informed scholarship, that we should further engage ourselves with the extent of the compliant to the provisions of the two constitutions in relation to the status of local government as a tier of government and by so doing undertake an evaluation and analysis of its existence within the contemporary framework of federalism in Nigeria.

Accepted that local government was least thought of in the 1963 First Republican Constitution, the 1979 and 1999 Constitutions remain ineffective legal instruments in meeting the 21st century needs and challenges of the local government in Nigeria. What is provided for in the 1999 Constitution (as amended) is a: “...system of local government by democratically elected local government councils...”. But the question can be asked: To what extent is the Nigerian local governments a *system*, and to what extent too is it governed by “*democratically elected local government councils...*”? The two questions in one require elaborate details. The idea of “system”, here conceived, is based on the Estonian understanding of “political system” and the Parsonian understanding of “social system”. But from the restricted view of administrative coinage which serves immediate use here, the Nigerian local government is far from being a system of coordinating parts. It is rather totally disjointed, disorganized and faulty. It is however important to recall that the 1976 Local Government Reforms, fired by the exemplary leadership character of General Murtala Ramat Mohammed, attempted for the first time to provide an integrated framework of local government system in Nigeria. The corruption of the civilian government of the Shehu Shagari Administration and that of the successive military administrations destroyed the very foundation of the philosophy that informed the 1976 reorganization. While the 1999 Constitution (as amended) empowers Electoral Commissions at the State level to organize elections into the local government councils, this can only be done if the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), a national/federal executive body, supplies the State’s Electoral Commission with the List of Registered Voters. This practically means that elections into the local government councils can only take place at the behest of the Federal Government as the Independent National Electoral Commission is only independent in name. With the legitimacy crisis that the flawed 2007 General Elections placed on President Umar Musa Yar’adua Administration for example, the caretaker committees that were in existence then could not be immediately replaced by democratically elected local government councils. In some states of Nigeria then and up till now, caricatures and resemblances of democratic arrangements were (and still are) crafted without the electorates having significant inputs into these arrangements as elections were allegedly rigged and the outcomes of judicial interpretations with respect to their legalities remain contradictory.

Significantly too, the provision of the Constitution which says that ten percent of internally generated

revenue of the states should be made available to the local government only exists in theory. The practice is that the states (through the Joint Account which they maintain with the local governments, an account whose creation is also supported by law) continue to allegedly siphon most of the revenues that otherwise should have accrued to the local governments, partly due to the stinking corruption, and partly due to the overbearing influence of the Governors. At this juncture, it has become important to now ask: Of what relevance is the discourse on the relationship between local government and the constitution to the whole body of knowledge, and more importantly, to political theory? The political theory on the subject matter particularly relates to the ideal/appropriate number of local government. What therefore should be the ideal number of local government in Nigeria? The question though embedded in normative construct however, requires the injection of some elements of empiricism to make it useful and relevant to the ongoing discourse. The empiricism, one should note further, requires some formulated scientific parameters including: viability, population, area/size, level of social sophistication, among others. Viability as an economic and financial indicator seeks to measure the readiness/capability of the local government to be able to meet its constitutional obligations and duties from internally generated revenue without any assistance coming from both the states and the federal government. Population indicates the number of residents sufficient enough to occupy a local government territory. Area/size measures the extent of geographical coverage relevant to meet the status of a local government. And finally, level of social sophistication in terms of the possession of the needed civic awareness and public consciousness, role differentiation, level of education, degree of urbanization/socio-economic activities, participation in politics, etc., that readily make for community involvement in governmental affairs.

6. The Nigerian Experience: Implications for Comparative Research

The Nigerian experience of the relationship between local government and the constitution obviously has serious implications for comparative research and study. It has, among others, created the basis in which some formulations can be made with respect to the study of cross-national experiences. The fact that the constitution, among others, determines the framework and structure of government means that any comparative study/investigation should begin to look for the similarities and dissimilarities in the workings of constitutions, in particular in the

relationship between the constitution and local government. The implication which the Nigerian experience poses for comparative research can be better appreciated if we first seek to know the conclusions that were arrived at from our study of the Nigerian experience.

The Nigerian experience presents a bad omen for the “federal principle” all over the world, in particular, the federal societies of the Third World. The running, existence and operations of the local government seem to depend largely on the behest of the executive, especially the Governor with or without the State legislature. In place of “elected local government councils”, a constitutional requirement and or provision are new coinages such as “sole administratorship”, “transition committees”, “caretaker committees”, etc. while the constitution and the various laws provide for tenure of three years for local government elected councils, it is either that this is aborted all of the sudden, or that they are replaced with “transition or caretaker committees”, whichever pleases the political calculation of the Governor or Executive Governor as sometimes called. From the Nigerian experience, local government systematically fits into the permutation of electoral process nationally. For instance, the self-acclaimed biggest party in Africa, the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), decided in 2007 that election into the local government councils should be held only after the party would have had its national convention. It might be one of the tactics to address the legitimacy crisis that was faced by the then President Umar Yar’adua following the flawed 2007 General Elections as himself admitted to.

The second conclusion of the Nigerian study of the relationship between local government and the constitution is that local government is far from being a tier of government in the strict legal terminology. Until when for instance President Umar Yar’adua ordered that the withheld local government funds of Lagos State be immediately released, his predecessor, President Olusegun Obasanjo, in spite of the Supreme Court ruling on the subject, kept hold on the funds for politically related reasons. What is clear from this Nigerian experience is that party differences exert recognizable limitation on the legal status of the local government. Related to this is the fact that where lack of separation exists between government and the ruling party, governmental processes and procedures are compromised to the detriment of due process and constitutional provisions. It is worth recalling here that out of the five State Governors that took the federal government to court over the creation of additional local

governments at different times before the 2007 General Elections, only ex-Governor Bola Tinubu of Lagos State fought it to the last as the other Governors had to “chicken out”, obviously because of the overwhelming power of ex-President Olusegun Obasanjo, either as ex-General or Leader of the People’s Democratic Party (PDP).

The question remains: How can the Nigerian experience provide reliable basis for comparative research? In other words, how can the relationship between local government and the constitution provide basis and opportunity for comparative research? Before we shall attempt to provide answers, it is pertinent to emphasize that the relationship between local government and the constitution is not restricted to a federal political environment alone. But what is the most important to stress is that the relationship between local government and the constitution is better studied in environments whose constitutions are both written and rigid. As these remain significant features of federal political systems, the conclusion is most likely that federal systems are very appropriate for the study. Important therefore as the Nigerian experience is, the degree of its reliability and dependability for comparative research is however, constrained by the “uniqueness” and peculiarities of the Nigerian environment. Nigeria is perhaps the only country in the world where constitutional provisions are violated and everybody pretends to be unaware or goes to sleep. Second, Nigeria is characterized by uncertainties and inconsistencies. Some still continue to question the mode/manner of the framing/the coming into existence of the 1999 Constitution (as amended). All these factors tend to limit the opportunity of using the Nigerian case study for the purpose of comparative research. Just as in the specialized field of comparative politics where competing paradigms flood the process of comparative research and investigation, the Nigerian experience, notwithstanding the above identified and discussed limitations, still provides directions to cross-national research especially in the area of conceptual formulation. Concepts such as “function”, “actor”, “environment”, “input and output”, “stability”, “pattern maintenance”, etc., which already serve the purpose of comparative research in political science can as well be used to either investigate the Nigerian or global experiences. Specifically, we might seek to determine or know the equivalences of “function”, “actor”, etc., of the Nigerian local government system in other political systems of the world.

The Nigerian experience can therefore offer reliable basis and or framework for comparative research.

The focus of the comparative research can be placed on questions such as: What should be the relationship, in both theory and practice, between local government and the constitution? Should the constitution necessarily specify a dependent relationship? What specific form and character should the relationship take? Should the relationship be limited to power of establishment, creation and or control, or should be relationship be as defined in the sources of revenue available to each tier of government as specified in the constitution? What consequences and policy implications do the questions above pose either for sustainable democracy or institution-building? The questions though regionally framed, but can however still be extended to other political systems with the view to determining where differences and or variations exist, and what implications arising there from. These, no doubt, constitute the nuclei of comparative research methodology of the social science genre.

7. Conclusion

The paper has set for itself the task of examining the relationship between local government and the constitution within the Nigerian experience of the theory and practice of federalism. The constitution ever remains a legal framework defining the structure of any government and the relationship between and among the agencies of government, among others. The Nigerian experience is very appalling as the local government is yet to enjoy the status of a tier of government judged by the continuing violation of the constitution which requires that local government should be democratically administered and managed. However, the Nigerian experience provides scholarly opportunities for researching into an obviously neglected area in social science study and analysis. A focus on this area of neglect will no doubt help to rebuild and reframe the thought on local government, in particular its relationships with other tiers of government.

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Part Two

Political Economic Relations



An Assessment of the Impact of Commodity and Oil Economy on Nigeria's Multilateral Policy

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Abstract. Nigeria's multilateral policy has come under proper scrutiny and criticism in recent years from policy quarters and informed public. This becomes imperative because of the perceived policy discrepancy between policy intention and outcome. Most Nigerians, especially from the academia, continue to reassess Nigeria's contributions to international institutions vis a vis its national goals and interests. This article is therefore a continuation of such exercise to assess and explore a section of Nigeria's involvement in multilateral institutions since 1960, the year of independence. Being the most populous member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and second most populous in Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) after Indonesia, Nigeria's multilateral diplomacy is one of the most complex not only in Africa but also in the global south. In assessing and exploring Nigeria's multilateral diplomacy, the article uses latent content analysis to mine data from existing documents, journal articles, newspapers, and policy papers to dissect the process of multilateralism in Nigeria's foreign policy. In addition, the article takes into consideration the uses of hermeneutics approach, which is premised on the interpretation of all available evidence, to arrive at objectivity.

Keywords: Economy, Multilateral Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, Nigeria

1. Introduction

The government of each state in the global economy devises means and strategy by which its economic interest will be protected and strengthened against other state actors. The economic capacity of a state is an important instrument of foreign policy and it determines the complexity and orientation of such policy (Adeyemi-Suenu & Inokoba, 2010:1). Some countries, especially the developed ones, promote multilateral institutions to ensure stable political and economic climate in the global space, which will ensure the smooth running and flow of goods and

services across borders (Gill & Law, 1989:478). The promotion of and stability of global economic system has and still is the responsibility of hegemon in the international system. In the 18th century, Britain dominated the global economy and maintained the system until it was overthrown by the US after the First World War. The US also came up with its own hegemonic device, which dominates the global economic terrain until now. In the contemporary global system, such hegemonic role is being displayed and sponsored at regional and sub-regional level of multilateralism.

The Nigerian economy at the point of independence gave Nigerian leaders hope and assurance that the country will soon become an industrial hearth of the continent (Oladimeji & Mohammad Zaki, 2015:403). There are three important ways by which economy affects Nigerian multilateral policy. First, the large and robust economy, at least by African standard, gives Nigerian leaders the idea of promoting integration in Africa. Second, the relative advanced economy, in addition to oil, gives Nigeria the opportunity to finance some of its ambitious plans, most especially in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (now African Union, (AU)) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (Herskovits, 1975:316; Shaw & Fasehun, 1980:554). Third, the need to solve some problems posed by commodity trade, debt burden, poverty, underdevelopment, and African marginalization is also important areas by which economy impacts on Nigeria's multilateral policy (Alli, 2012:68). Professor Joy Ogwu, the permanent representative of Nigeria to the United Nations (UN), stressed that:
Economic concerns underpin Nigeria's role in the ECOWAS....Effective regional cooperation and integration in Africa is critical to the solution of the country's numerous problems....It is impossible to solve the problems posed by poverty and debt burden on an individual country basis... and for this to be effective...Nigeria is expected to play this role in view of her status as the largest market in the sub-

region with vast natural and human resources....The role of hegemon is also expected of Nigeria at the continental level...where the country was a protagonist for the recently established AU (Ogwu, 2005:10).

Since independence in 1960, many countries and leaders have seen Nigeria as being in the best position to protect the economic interest of Africa. Thus, many countries and individuals were of the belief that from the economic point of view, Nigeria would compete favorably with countries like Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina at the time of gaining independence (Shaw, 1983:6-7). The economic prosperity was promising and the Nigerian leaders were convinced of the need to dominate African market. With the largest market in Africa signified by overwhelming population and resources, Nigeria started proposing African integration as a platform to launch itself as Africa's economic powerhouse (Brown, 1989:258). At independence, the Nigeria's future economy was promising and it gave Nigerian leaders the idea that the country needed to promote "Pax Nigeriana" and to be a leader in Africa as its "manifest destiny" (Adebajo, 2003:64). This article is thus divided into four sections. Section one discusses some literatures on Nigeria's multilateral policy while section two delves into economy as a factor of Nigeria's multilateral diplomacy. Section three looks at achievements of Nigeria in multilateral institutions and section four concludes the research and makes recommendations.

2. Literature Review

The relative dominant nature of Nigerian economy in Africa is one of the factors that dictate the dynamism of its foreign policy since independence. By the time of Nigerian independence in 1960, its economy, signified by large population, oil deposit, vast tropical agricultural produce, and significant commodity market, made it easier for Nigerian government to pursue an aggressive foreign policy adventure. It is therefore possible for Nigerian government since independence to contribute immensely to multilateral organizations while at the same time use such a medium to pursue certain goals and objectives in its foreign relations.

One of The earliest works written on Nigerian economic posture in relation to its external relation is by Angling (1964:137). He posits that the economic diversity and prosperity of Nigeria in the early days of independence was a factor in its decision in non-alignment forum. Nigerian in the early days of independence inherited vibrant economy from the

colonial master and in this way; it was possible to pursue a policy of non-alignment. Although economy may constitute an important factor in the decision of Nigeria to pursue such a policy with certainty, however, the political weight of Nigeria in Africa should better explain this more than the economy. Gambari (1975:95) contends that the wealth accrued from the oil enable Nigeria government to pursue foreign adventurism with certainty for Nigeria did not need any financial assistance from the developed countries. He therefore concludes that it was the oil wealth, which accrued to Nigeria in the 1970s during the Arab oil embargoes against the West that helped Nigerian government to initiate the formation of ECOWAS in 1975. This view is contrasted a little to Fajana's (1978:19) who asserts that the formation of ECOWAS was not only necessitated by economic prosperity in the country but also to ensure that Nigeria's neighbours are more aligned with Nigeria than with France-the erstwhile colonial master. Whatever the argument, what is certain is that the formation of ECOWAS has both political and economic undertones. It was a way of killing two birds with a stone.

In a related development, Gambari (2011:136) opines that the multilateral undertaking by Nigeria is borne out of its relative economic advancement in Africa. Or else how would one explain the activity of Nigeria in the UN, OAU/AU, ECOWAS, Commonwealth, OPEC etcetera since independence? Gambari therefore concludes that it is the economic viability, especially the oil economy, which enabled Nigeria to discharge its financial and moral obligation in all its multilateral undertakings most especially in OAU/AU and ECOWAS. This view is also supported by Alo (2013:296-303) where he narrates how Nigeria's economy dictate its position in the establishment of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). It is clearly stated that it was the economic buoyancy of both South Africa and Nigeria that made the establishment a reality for most African countries could not meet their financial obligations to the AU. This line of reasoning is in contrast with Jaye's (2008:159) who sees Nigeria as protecting its interests in its contribution to continental institutions. He highlights that the enormous security challenges being faced by the West African countries ordinarily demand the attention of Nigeria.

Moreover, Jaye may be right by this line of argument but it needs to be stated that the ECOWAS itself where Nigeria contributes largest finance is made possible by Nigeria's economic prosperity. Nigeria's

relative financial stability has been sustaining the ECOWAS region since inception and no conflict has gone beyond the military and financial capacity of Nigeria. The argument can be complemented with what happened in the East African region in 1994 where close to a 800,000 Rwandans and Burundians were violently massacred. This may be attributed to lack of a clear hegemon to instantaneously contain the situation before the intervention of the UN and other international organizations. Such a scenario might have repeated itself in West Africa but for Nigeria financial largess, it was contained. Ashaver (2014:6-11) also contributes to the economy and Nigeria's multilateral policy. He states that it was the constant revenue, which Nigeria got from oil in the 1970s and 1980s, that allowed independent policy implementation towards the Southern African issue. He cited the Angola case as an example. In the Angolan debacle Nigeria stood firmly against the interest of the major powers and sponsored homegrown party that later defeated the western-sponsored one. Financially, Nigeria contributed to the liberation of most Southern African countries and it is in this circumstance, Ashaver notes, that Nigeria achieved the status of frontline state.

Furthermore, Shaw (1978) comes up with counter-idea where he identifies Nigeria's economic capability and its role in Africa and the global politics. He laments that Nigeria should not be hoodwinked by its economic resources and population; its house needs to be put in order before projecting an aggressive foreign policy. Agbiboa (2011) also displays an opposite view in this case. He sees Nigeria as a toothless bulldog in Africa and global politics despite its economic prosperity. He contends that the relative economy prosperity enjoined by Nigeria has never been adequately and judiciously utilized to better the life of Nigerians and other Africans. He concludes that it was in the spirit of domestic corruption that impelled Nigerian government to intervene in the Liberian and Sierra Leone crisis. Although he acknowledges the economic factor in the establishment of ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) but proposes that such billions of dollars expended in the crisis was unjustifiable in running a multilateral operations. Agbiboa's view is based on the fact that most of these countries where Nigeria has expended most of its oil wealth have not for once appreciate the gesture and instead serve as impediment to the ambition and aspiration of Nigeria in both continental and global multilateral diplomacy.

This argument is also supported by Adeniji (2005:5-6) where he stresses the competition being faced by Nigeria in its bid for the permanent membership of

the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) if the restructuring is approved. In the West African sub-region where Nigeria is a clear hegemon, the aspiration of Nigeria in the UNSC may be thwarted by the francophone countries while South Africa, Kenya, Ethiopia, Egypt, and Algeria are also in a stiff competition with Nigeria despite its unparalleled commitment to the betterment of the African people since independence. One thing needs to be clear at this juncture. Nigeria's bid in the UNSC may be seen by some African countries as a threat to their cooperate existence. This resistance should not be magnified for such issue also applies to Europe and Asia. In Europe, for example, German aspiration in the UNSC is being potentially blocked by Italy, Britain, and Spain while China would never allow Japan to ascend to the permanent position in UNSC. This therefore indicates that rivalry is normal between and among nations in any geopolitical calculation. From the literatures discussed above, different approaches are employed in analysing Nigeria's multilateral policy. They are, therefore, very useful in discussing the multilateral policy of Nigeria most especially in relation to economic development.

3. Nigeria's Economy as a Factor of Multilateralism

The huge population coupled with oil and other agricultural resources like cocoa, groundnut, palm oil, rubber and cotton, gave an impressive outlook on the economy. In 1970 alone, Nigeria supplied 3.5% (2,376,000 tons) of the crude oil export to the US, placing it at the comfortable position to dominate African political terrain (Bach, 1983:43). In 1979, Nigeria rose to the seventh position in the world in the production of crude oil and occupied the first position in Africa (Wright, 1983:98). In 1963, Nigeria's population represented 25% of African's which made it attractive to the investors coming to Africa (Wright, 1983:100). The agricultural produce was amounted to \$6.3 billion in 1970 and was ranked 9th in the world alongside Turkey (Kushnir, 2013). Also in 1970, the Nigerian agricultural production represented 27.1% and 65% of Africa and West Africa respectively (Kushnir, 2013). This huge economy thus prompted Nigerian leaders to promote multilateralism under which the Nigerian economy can be galvanized into developed ones. In this sense, the need to dominate African economy and market was behind the Prime Minister's sponsoring of West Africa Economic Community in 1964 (Shaw, 1983:1). It did not come to fruition but continued subsequently by other Nigerian leaders.

It should be noted that by the time Nigeria gained its independence, it saw the International Monetary Fund (IMF), General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the World Bank (WB) as colonial economic instruments to further perpetuate their hegemonic role in the global economy (Wright, 1998:136). This idea radiated from the situation Nigeria found itself and some African countries at independence. Most African countries were all enmeshed in economic underdevelopment and abject poverty and Nigerian leaders, especially those with communist orientation, accused the West of conspiracy to put Africa at the bottom of the ladder in the global economy (Rodney, 1973). It was based on this that Nigeria joined other developing countries from Asia and Latin America to form the Group of 77 member of the UN which advocated for the New International Economic Order (NIEO) in 1964 in response to G7 (Akinrinade, 1998:173). In the process of this, Nigeria was trying to devise a continental economic multilateral institution that will cater for its interest and that of Africans. Between the 1960s and 1970s, Nigeria's economy had already been growing steadily and by 1970, the Nigeria's annual growth rate was 44.8% which amounted to \$11.4 billion (Kushnir, 2013). In the same year, Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was \$25.4 billion representing 23.1% and 72.1% of Africa and West Africa respectively and was ranked 20th globally (Kushnir, 2013). By the 1970s, it was in the economic caucus of Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) contesting economic buoyancy and competition with countries like Brazil, Singapore, South Korea and Mexico which were then located in the semi-periphery in the global economy (Shaw, 1983:7). It needs to be stressed that oil had become an important aspect of Nigerian economy in the 1970s after successful prospecting and exploration in the 1960s.

The history of oil exploration in colonial Nigeria started between 1903 and 1958 when the first shipment of Nigerian crude oil arrived in Rotterdam (Mayall, 1976:289). The oil economy was not as significant as commodity economy after independence and most of the government revenue came from the exportation of cocoa, palm oil, rubber, cotton, groundnut and coffee. Oil export began to be significant in Nigerian economy shortly after the civil war (Herskovits, 1975:313). The radicalization of foreign policy in the 1970s coincided with the height of Nigerian influence in foreign affairs, thanks in no small part to the oil boom and the rise of oil price that occurred in the years after the conclusion of the civil war (see table 1). The wealth that came from oil revenues enabled the country to become an important source of aid throughout Africa (Shaw, 1984:394). At

the same time, Nigeria was able to use its oil as a bargaining chip with the western powers that purchased it and used it to meet their energy needs.

In 1960, Nigeria produced 6,367 barrel of crude oil per day while it astronomically rose to 395,905 barrel in 1970 (see Table 1). Angola, a rival oil producer in sub-Saharan Africa, produced 1,100 and 83,900 barrel of crude oil in 1960 and 1970 respectively (OPEC, 2014). The enormous resources that Nigerian leaders inherited after independence created suspicion in the global political economy that Nigeria would soon become the "Second Brazil" (Shaw, 1983). London Financial Times buttressed this claim further:

In a world economy that is basically reliant on oil, Nigeria's economic and strategic importance is enormous....Increasingly, Nigeria's wealth and position has immensely enhanced her political and strategic importance in Africa and world politics. A strong member of OPEC, a pioneer and stabilizing force in the OAU, a member of the non-aligned nations, a founder of ECOWAS, Nigeria is slowly but assuredly emerging as major factor in the global power calculus (Financial Times, March 17, 1981).

Such is the lens through which the world described Nigerian economy and the result of this economic enormity is its employment in the global politics most especially on issue relating to Africa. As a member of OPEC and OAU, Nigeria has used its economic resources to pursue its strategic interest. According to Andrew Young, a leading activist in improving US-Nigerian relations under President Jimmy Carter of the US and General Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria,

Nigeria will endeavor to foster its interest in economic development and stable trade relationship with the west while simultaneously continuing to use its leverage with western nations and corporations in the interest of its political goals on the African continent especially with regard to South Africa (cited in Shaw, 1983:5).

This reveals the extent of Nigeria's employment of economy as an instrument of diplomacy in dealing with the outside world. The most important of Nigeria economy is oil which has created enormous wealth and influence for Nigeria in the international system. The oil economy provides Nigeria with much-needed revenue to pursue ambitious regional integration in Africa. In 1966, for example, oil production contributed 5.8% to Nigeria's GDP but rose to 14% in 1973 (Tyoden, 1983:153).

By 1974, Nigeria had become the sixth largest oil producer in the world and was the second largest supplier to the US after Saudi Arabia (Akinterinwa, 2005:88). As long as oil prices remained high, as it did for most part of President Yakubu Gowon period (1970-1975) (see Table below), Nigeria was a force to be reckoned with in international affairs. The oil weapon, therefore, became an important instrument in Nigerian foreign policy; it was used both to reward

allies and to punish opponents by the Gowon government (Bach, 1983:44). The statistics below is a testimony to the astronomical increase in Nigerian export revenue from oil during Gowon administration. During this period of oil boom, it is on record that Gowon lamented that “the problem of Nigeria is not money but how to spend it” (Morning Post, October 23, 1968).

Table 1: Petroleum of Production and Export

Year	Crude oil production per thousand barrels	Crude oil production per thousand tones	Crude oil exports per thousand barrels	Crude oil exports per thousand tones	Natural gas production million cubic feet
1958	1,876	257	1,695	230	1,609
1959	4,096	561	4,065	552	4,939
1960	6,367	872	6,244	849	5,095
1961	16,802	2,283	16,506	2,243	10,943
1962	24,624	3,346	24,680	3,421	17,179
1963	27,913	3,793	27,701	3,754	22,106
1964	43,997	5,978	43,432	5,878	36,333
1965	99,853	13,567	96,985	13,234	79,438
1966	152,428	20,710	140,118	19,333	103,820
1967	116,525	15,832	109,057	15,011	93,950
1968	51,907	7,053	52,847	7,180	51,628
1969	197,204	26,794	197,246	26,984	145,714
1970	395,905	53,791	383,455	52,100	285,512
1971	558,828	75,928	542,545	73,984	458,973
1972	665,286	90,392	650,980	88,431	604,642
1973	750,609	101,985	723,314	99,688	772,777
1974	823,349	112,788	795,710	109,662	959,524

Source: Nigeria Ministry of Mines and Power, Petroleum Division.

With such huge amount of revenue derived from oil economy, Nigerian government started to pursue regional integration ambition in Africa. The astronomical increase in the production of oil in the 1970s could be attributed to the energy crisis of the 1970s which was as a result of Arab oil embargoes on the US. This led to the renewed interest in the Nigerian oil by the US who perceived the Middle East source of energy as unstable and unreliable. This spurred increased in the volume of production and price as opposed to pre-1970s. The ECOWAS campaign had started since 1964 but with heavy financial clout in the 1970s Nigeria was able to sponsor some projects in West Africa to motivate West African countries to cooperate with the formation of regional organisation. One of the projects was the supply of electricity to Niger Republic from Nigeria’s Kanji dam which amounted to 9.6 million naira (\$6.32 million) in 1972 and this convince some of the west African countries of the readiness of Nigeria to shoulder in its totality the responsibility of the regional organization (Oladimeji & Mohammad Zaki, 2015:403).

With the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli war in 1973, Nigeria broke off diplomatic relations with Israel and participated in the OPEC oil embargo against the US, illustrating its solidarity with its oil producing Arab allies while simultaneously using the oil weapon against a formidable western foe (Wright, 1983:108). In addition to this, OPEC as a multilateral cartel served Nigeria multilateral policy well in dealing with the West on the issues of Palestine and Southern African countries (Oladimeji & Sherko, 2015:685). Nigerian government gave substantial amount in aid and loan to some poor OAU member countries who could not cope with the high price of oil in the global market. For example, in 1972 the Gowon government donated \$158,000 to Kenya, \$75,000 to Guinea and \$150,000 to the Sudan (Nwoke, 2005:121). Such generosity was paid for with oil revenues, which by 1974 accounted for 90% of Nigeria’s export earnings and over 80% of its total revenue (Herskovits, 1975:315). In 1975, Nigeria started to use its oil as economic and political tools and began selling petroleum directly to African countries at concessionary rates. African countries were allowed to purchase Nigerian crude oil at three-quarters of the market price (Guardian, October 30, 1990). This was

premised on conditions that the purchasing country had its own refineries and that the country agreed not to resell the oil to third parties. By this, Nigeria hoped to stimulate relations with African countries and help struggling African economies get on their feet. With the oil revenue and attendant assistance to OAU members, the West African countries agreed with Nigeria in 1975 and ECOWAS was formed with Nigerian oil revenue (Nwoke, 2005:124).

Such oil revenue also provided Nigeria with much enough financial resources to meet its obligations in UN, OPEC and OAU. According to the latest estimate, Nigeria is the largest oil producer in Africa and occupies 13th position in the global production. Nigeria's oil production constitutes 2.62% of global oil production and export in 2013 (OPEC, 2014). In addition to this, Nigeria is by far the largest oil producer in ECOWAS and in terms of global agricultural produce; Nigeria is the third largest producer of palm oil in the world after Indonesia and Malaysia (United States Department of Agriculture, 2014). Its cocoa production also constitutes 7.7% of global production in 2012 making Nigeria the 4th largest producer in the world (World Cocoa Foundation, 2014). Nigeria's record in strategic resources is notable and it is by far the richest country in Africa in all essential products (Bach, 2007). In 2014, Nigeria surpassed South Africa as the largest African economy.

Thus, the ECOWAS and its military offspring, ECOMOG, rest solely on Nigerian financial capability, as most ECOWAS members are very poor to meet their dues (Nigerian Daily Champion, July 8, 2003). In 2002 only, Nigeria paid \$60million which represented 60% of the whole amount for ECOWAS currency stabilization while Ghana, Guinea and Gambia paid 17%, 5% and 0.07% respectively of the \$100 million allotted. (Nigerian Comet, May 21, 2002). In short, without the huge financial contribution of Nigeria, ECOWAS cannot survive the ravages of time. In sponsoring ECOWAS and AU, Nigeria is of the view that the free movement of people and common currency could open the African market to Nigerian exports as it competes with France, the US, Britain and recently Japan and China (Nigerian Tribune, October 17, 2013). To achieve this laudable goal, Nigeria sponsored the construction of West African Gas Pipeline (WAGP) covering 997km long off-shore which is intended to supply some ECOWAS member countries with Nigerian gas (Nwoke, 2005:127). Monetary union had also been sponsored which was formerly scheduled to materialize in 2005 but due to some political and economic circumstances in the region, Nigeria could

not attain this. The formulation and implementation on the monetary union is still in progress. The buoyant economy therefore could be adjudged as an important factor in Nigeria's multilateral policy.

4. Achievements

One of the most important factors that dictate Nigeria's multilateral policy is economy which has been dealt with in the previous section. In adopting multilateral policy as a mechanism of promoting its economic interest in the global stage, Nigeria has recorded some achievements especially in connection with ECOWAS. Before the formation of ECOWAS in 1975, Nigeria has engaged itself in some steps that would advance its domestic economic interest in the global arena. In the first instance, Nigeria's economy was basically backward by modern global standard and therefore could not compete favorably with industrialized countries. In this way, Nigeria opted for regional economic integration in Africa. The first step taken in this direction was the need to advance the collective interest of African economy which began with the leading of African negotiation with European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973 (Aluko, 1983:84). Osuntokun (2005:41) states that "whenever Nigeria found a forum, whether in the non-aligned conferences, the OAU, ECOWAS, the Commonwealth and the UN, economic concern and preoccupation dominated our declarations and speeches".

It is of interest to elaborate more on the issue of Nigeria and the EEC because it defined the final faith of ECOWAS formation in 1975. Earlier in 1971, the EEC countries were trying to reduce tariff for goods and services that came from Africa as most of their exports were primary products (Ogunsawo, 2005:202). The EEC thus wanted to enter into negotiation with African countries of which Nigeria was an important actor. The then Commissioner for Trade, Wenike Briggs, was of the view that joining the negotiation with other African countries would be of benefit to Nigeria in order to motivate the west African countries in the formation of ECOWAS (Aluko, 1983:85). Some Nigerians who worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Economic Development were of the conviction that the economic negotiation with the EEC was not beneficial to Nigerian economy in any way. One of the arguments against the negotiation was that Nigeria did not rely on agricultural product as 80% of its export came from oil and its agricultural export to European market was less than 10% of which Nigeria could not benefit from *Système de Stabilisation des Recettes d'Exportation* (STABEX) arrangement

(Wright, 1998:139). The STABEX arrangement was based on the idea that those African countries whose export to European market constitute over 10% of agricultural products will benefit from tariff reduction. According to Ogunsawo (2005:203) “as long as Nigeria did not fall under this categorization it made no sense to join the economic negotiation with EEC”. At last in 1975, through appraisal and assessment of the regional economic cooperation, Nigeria decided to lead the OAU members to negotiate with the EEC. Olajide Aluko argues further:

in terms of direct monetary benefits, Nigeria did not expect much. On the contrary Nigeria government saw its decision to participate in the negotiation as a way to promote African unity and reduce economic... balkanization (Aluko, 1983).

Another senior official in the negotiations, Dr. Olu Sanu, observed that “history might also record that Nigeria’s act of solidarity with African states was a major contribution towards the goal of African unity and inter-African economic cooperation” (Sanu, 1980). It needs to be stated here that the negotiation was led by Nigeria purely to secure favourable trade relation between Africa and Europe which has gone down in the history as one of the earliest successes of Nigeria’s multilateral policy. The negotiation has proved to be useful in Nigeria’s economy as Nigeria has grown to be the largest European Union (EU) trading partner in the West African sub-region (Akinterinwa, 2005:94). For details see Table 2 and 3 which highlights the recent trading relation between the EU and ECOWAS member states.

Table 2: ECOWAS-EU Trade Investment Statistics

	2000	2005	2009	2010	Growth rate 2009/2010	Annual average growth rate 2009/2010	Shares in total EU-27 imports (2010)	Shares in Extra imports from Africa (2010)	Shares in Eu-27 Import From ECOWAS
ECOWAS	11561	13738	16496	21169	26.3%	6.2%	1.41%	15.83%	100.00%
Benin	81	33	31	31	0.5%	-9.1%	0.00%	0.02%	0.15%
Burkina Faso	70	30	82	99	20.5%	3.6%	0.01%	0.07%	0.47%
Cape Verde	13	19	27	36	35.0%	11.0%	0.0%	0.03%	0.17%
Gambia	32	6	11	18	61.4%	-5.6%	0.0%	0.01%	0.09%
Ghana	1 173	978	1097	1 458	32.9%	2.2%	0.10%	1.09%	6.89%
Guinea	523	445	384	472	22.9%	-1.0%	0.03%	0.35%	2.23%
GuineaBissau	5	3	2	6	143.5%	1.2%	0.00%	0.00%	0.03%
Ivory Coast	2 059	1 978	3 054	3 215	5.3%	4.6%	0.21%	2.41%	15.19%
Liberia	435	926	533	341	-35.9%	-2.4%	0.02%	0.26%	1.61%
Mali	76	42	20	27	34.5%	-9.8%	0.00%	0.02%	0.13%
Niger	95	130	219	196	-10.6%	7.5%	0.01%	0.15%	0.93%
Nigeria	6491	8 389	10417	14 592	40.1%	8.6%	0.97%	10.91%	68.93%
Senegal	410	521	261	297	13.5%	-3.2%	0.02%	0.22%	1.40%
Sierra Leone	105	121	100	159	59.5%	4.3%	0.01%	0.12%	0.75%
Togo	65	116	258	221	-14.4%	12.9%	0.01 %	0.17%	1.04%

Source: ECOWAS-EU Trade and Investment Statistics, 2000-2010

The table above reveals that the bulk of EU imports from ECOWAS member states are from Nigeria which would have otherwise difficult if Nigeria did not sponsor the negotiation of Africa Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP)-EU in 1973. Although it may be right to assert that since oil forms 80% of merchandise export to EU from Nigeria, it is expected that Nigeria forms the single largest trading partner of EU in West Africa.

It is of interest to note that Nigeria as economic powerhouse of Africa promote regional economic integration in order to enhance its economic productivity in Africa and most especially within the West African sub region (The Guardian, October 30, 2010). After successful formation of ECOWAS in 1975, the trade relationship between Nigerian and its West African counterparts have been on the upsurge. Nigeria advocates Free Trade Agreement, ECOWAS Common Currency, Custom Union, and promotion of the free movement of the people across West African countries (The Nation, December 30, 2010). In addition, the successful adoption of Lagos Plan of Action after the economic summit, which propagated and promoted common market among African countries in 1980 led to the adoption of collective self-reliance and regional integration. This in turn boosted Nigeria’s confidence in West Africans markets (Nwoke, 2005:123). Thus, because of nature of Nigerian economy, which is based on the oil export, Nigeria records trade surplus with ECOWAS, EU, and AU member states. Below is the recent summary of Nigeria’s trade relations with the aforementioned blocs.

Table 3: Selected trade partners for Nigeria (2009-2012) (data given in thousands of USD)

	2009	2010	2011	2012
Import from AU	2416245	2911749	2920450	1566375
Export to AU	8510888	10494748	13092447	21022001
Trade Balance	1017028	5327757	10215305	14164371
Import from EU	7799669	9658924	15642145	8356760
Export to EU	11203780	19406833	35759834	50998444
Trade balance	3404111	9747909	20117689	42641684
Import from ECOWAS	71631	182836	753499	151833
Export to ECOWAS	2151288	2044825	3579659	5545051
Trade balance	2079657	1861989	2826160	5393218

Source: International Trade Centre (2014)

It needs to be reiterated that the favorable balance of trade surplus between Nigeria, ECOWAS and AU members signifies the success Nigeria has attained in its multilateral policy in relation to economy. Although one may wonder why ECOWAS members' export to Nigeria is comatose in relation to imports, but it should be stressed that majority of ECOWAS member states are mono-product economy and the political economy of the region is not complementary but competitive in nature (Nwoke, 2005:124). Apart from surplus trade relation with AU and ECOWAS members, Nigeria also enjoins the investment climate of ECOWAS and AU members based on the signing of Protocol relating to trade relation among the ECOWAS and AU members (The Nation (Nigeria), June 19, 2013). Such protocol enhances Nigeria to boost its investment in other parts of Africa. In fact, Nigerian Ambassador to Ghana, Ademola Oluseyi, affirms that any trade dispute that may arise between Nigerians in Ghana can be settled by ECOWAS Protocol amicably (Business News, September 23, 2014). By ECOWAS and AU protocols, Nigerian investment in African countries has grown steadily over years. In his word, Mr. George Aboagye, Chief Executive Officer of Ghana Investment Promotion lamented that there were 17 Nigerian firms operating in Ghana at present and their total capital amounted to \$1.5 billion between 1994 and 2011 (The Nation, August 14, 2014). In a similar reaction, the Chief Executive Officer also stresses that, "the regional integration of which Nigeria is a prime factor has yielded considerably for Nigerians in some African countries as most Nigerian banks and other private investors are eyeing countries like Ghana, Togo, Zambia and Rwanda".

Nigeria is among the five top investors in Rwanda and investment in cement, building materials, concrete products, insurance, banking, petroleum and real estate are the areas where Nigeria dominate market in other parts of Africa (Tetenyi, 2014). Ademola Oluseyi, the Nigerian ambassador to Ghana, also stated that seven Nigerian banks are now in operation in Ghana. They are United Bank for Africa, First Atlantic Bank, Zenith Bank, Access

Bank, Equity Assurance, Regency Alliance, and NEM Insurance. He also stressed that the Nigerian investment totaled \$2 billion in 2014 in Ghana alone (Sun News (Ghana), September 16, 2014). Other Nigerian companies operating in African countries are Dangote Groups, African Petroleum, Oando and SO Energy (Business News, September 23, 2014). Unipetrol also operates in Sierra Leone, Togo, and Ghana where it dominates the 70% of Sierra Leonean terminal tankage and secured five retails outlets in Togo (The Guardian, September 18, 2002). In essence, Nigeria's multilateral policy has paved way for reliable investment climate in some African countries.

5. Conclusion

The article has attempted at dissecting Nigeria's multilateral diplomacy through economic lens. Such exercise has revealed many important information about Nigeria's multilateralism. Nigeria's relative advance economy in Africa propels it to shoulder most of the continental responsibilities from 1960. Such responsibilities have allowed Nigeria to sponsor and direct the affairs of Africa through multilateral institutions like ECOWAS, OAU (now AU) and the UN. Nigeria's relative advance in economy has enabled it to sponsor many projects within African continent. Within the West African sub region, Nigeria has employed ECOWAS to advance its economic interest in West Africa, which has ultimately enabled it to capture, at least in modest form, the regional market. Thus, multilateral diplomacy yielded many benefits to Nigeria since 1960. However, Nigeria's comatose industrial production and infrastructural deficiency make full utilization of its economic potential impossible among its peers in the multilateral institutions. This is most especially true of South Africa, Algeria, Egypt, and some other countries outside Africa. Nigeria's miniature industrial facilities cannot compete with some of these countries, which make some African countries to resent implicitly its leadership posture in Africa. Thus, for Nigeria to make full utilization of multilateral diplomacy, its economic sector, premised

on diversification and infrastructural development, must be pursued.

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The Structure of Ijaw Political Economy in the Colonial Administration, C. 1900-1960s: An Assessment

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Abstract. As expected, the colonial economic activities were tailored toward a fulfillment of the British imperial goal. The British colonial power no doubt established certain merceneries in order to build the metropolitan economy in the United Kingdom. The Nigeria territory was meant to provide the needed raw materials for their growing industries with little to develop the colony. Based on this premise, this paper examines the structure of the Ijaw political-economy during the British colonial administration. A particular attention is equally paid to, the continuation of palm oil production, the Colonial Welfare and Development Act of 1945 and local agitation and resistance to mineral ordinance on land matters. Other significant developments discussed included the 1957 Henry Willink Commission of inquiry. This paper employed both primary and secondary sources of data for critical analysis of issues raised. It argue that since the main reason for the establishment of the colonial administration in Nigeria was to increase the supply of manufactured raw materials to UK, the paper suggests that various policies put in place by the British government was not done to accelerate the internal economic growth of the Ijaw people of Niger Delta province, but to the satisfaction of the colonial power. On the other hand, it could be said that though the colonial economic policies seemed draconian, it has laid the foundation for future development of Nigeria. The government is expected to use the available natural resources toward the advancement of the country both in terms of man power and infrastructural facilities. It concludes that, only then would the dreams of founding fathers of Nigeria at independence for rapid socio-economic and development be attained.

Keywords: Colonial Economy, Britain, Niger Delta, Native government, Development.

1. Introduction

Before the creation of the colonial state of Nigeria there were multiple ethnic groups, each with its own system of politically independent form of government (Eluwa, 1987 pp.8-10). They included the Kanem-Bornu Kingdom, the Fulani Emirate in the savannah of Northern Nigeria, the Ife Kingdom, Benin Kingdom, Yoruba Empire of Oyo, and the city-states of the Niger Delta such as Nembe, Bonny, New Kalabar and its hinterland, the Igbo people of the Eastern region (Nmadi & Martins, 1992 pp.24-29; Greene, 1968, pp.54-58). To Nmadi & Martins (1992), these sovereign territories were culturally diverse, until the British colonial rule from 1900 onwards. The period between 1900 and 1906 witnessed multiple acts of resistances to occupation, conquest and establishment of colonial administration in Nigeria territories. The drive of British colonial power at that time was linked with economic expediency and dictated by industrial capitalism. Lasisi (1994, pp.121-123), asserted that the economic imposed on Nigeria between 1914 and 1960 was structured in a way to satisfy the needs and solve the contradictions within the capitalist system, and explains the motivation behind the promotion and production of cash crops by the British to meet their industrial needs, notably palm oil, cocoa, groundnuts, rubber and later coffee. Mineral resources, such as tin and coal, also became important mineral exports.

2. Native Administration

As was the case with all the other regions in the Niger Delta, Ijaw territory came under colonial rule after the charter of Royal Niger Company (RNC) was revoked in 1900 (Flint, 1960 p.104, Obaro, 1977 pp.15-33). In order to enhance smooth running of its administration, the British government established a Native Authority in the Anyama Ogbia district which held authority over Oloibiri, Otuasaga, Elebele and other villages in the immediate area (Dike, 1956 pp.119-120). The Native Authority represented indirect rule in the region and was the system whereby the British colonial government controlled the local people indirectly through their kings, emirs and obas or traditional chiefs (Ekundare, 1973 pp.108-109). Colonial report revealed that the outcome of this was that the Ijaw traditional ruler were no longer independent but had to rely on the colonial authority and thus were required to take orders from the District Officer and execute these as directed (C.O. Colonial Office File 588/1).

In order to ensure the effective governance of Oloibiri and Ijaw territory the British colonial power also appointed warrant chiefs (National Archive Ibadan, NAI, Warri Province, 129/528, Kirk-Greene, 1965 pp.68-69) According to Lugard warrant chiefs: *Were to be Sole Native Authorities in their respective area, with powers to enforce 'Native Laws and Custom' to make new laws subject only to the approval of the governor and to control all natives residing in their areas. They were to have control over land and the sole right to collect taxes or tribute* (NAI, CSO, 1290/589 Native Authority and Administration in Nigeria¹)

Warrant chiefs were non-traditional chiefs chosen from the new emerging social group who had become wealthy under the export trade system of the British government (NAI, Native Authority 1906 Ordinance). These chiefs had the power to oversee the execution of orders from the colonial District Officer, collect taxation, and encourage the Ijaw farmers and traders in the hinterland to produce more cash crops in the form of palm oil. This further limited the powers and authority of the traditional kings and rulers in the Delta and eastern Nigeria. Umoren (1995, pp.61-72) writes that in 1906, the Native Court Ordinance gave the Native Court three powers of the colonial government namely: the administrative, judicial, and executive powers, which also gave the court members more authority. This was the case in Urhobo, Kwale (Ijaw) and Igbo area in which warrant chiefs were imposed on the people. To Eluwa (1987, p.210) these areas complained

bitterly against the new system of appointed chiefs, sole native authorities and direct taxation.

Moreover, the year 1929 saw a riot by Aba women, linked to the activity of the warrant chiefs who became lords to themselves by imposing taxation on them (Umoren, 1995). A solidarity protest was staged by women in Calabar in Ijawland and its hinterland in support of the Aba women against the warrant chiefs who were alleged to have imposed a tax on women, children and their domestic animals (Perham, 1962 p.204). Despite this riots and protest, direct taxation was collected in the south-eastern part with less resistance when due process was employed by the colonial government representative. In addition, the educated members of the Ijaw community and part of Benin and Delta agitated for their non-participation in the native administration. The anti-tax riot in Warri and the Kwale-Igbo revolts of between 1927 and 1928 showed the resentment amongst the elites to the colonial administration in the area. By the end of 1930s there had been revolts in both the Ijaw land such as New Calabar, Opobo and part of the Delta (Eluwa, 1987 p.210).

The Oloibiri district of Ogbia Ijawland featured prominently in the Native Authority during the British colonial rule, particularly in their political and economic activity. A first class stool created by the Eastern Regional Government in the 1950s for the Regional Council of chiefs and traditional rulers was occupied by a native of Oloibiri called Amangala (Kathryn, 2005 p.474). This accentuated the status of Oloibiri people during the colonial era, as Amangala held the paramount position of the whole of Ogbia in Ijawland.

3. Promotion of Palm Oil Exports in Ijawland

Palm oil exportation was not new to the Oloibiri and other Ijaw people, as they had been involved in the trade during the pre-colonial era. It is noted that the industrial revolution in Europe and the abolition of Atlantic slave trade in the early 1800s saw a switch to palm oil commerce (Northup, 1972, pp.217-36). Given the importance attached with the production and export of palm oil in the colonial era, it became an opportunity for Ijaws to continue in the same trade with the British. According to Aghalino (2004, pp.23-25), the direct involvement of the British colonial administration in the palm oil export in Ijawland started with the new agriculture policy of assisting the peasant farmers with improved planting and production processes. The production of palm oil was therefore intensified in Ijaw land and every part

of the Niger Delta, as well as eastern Nigeria. By doing this, the British hoped to secure more profits in the world market and to serve their home industries. The same principle of allowing the local farmers to own and manage the plantations was applied in the Ijaw-land (Ekundare, 1973 p.158). Agricultural services were extended to the local palm oil producers through the distribution of seedlings and plants, and the incentive given to these farmers led to increase palm oil production in Ijaw land and its hinterland Igbo areas (NAE, (National Archive Enugu), War Prof, Colonial Annual Report, No, 509,).

Allister, (1997 p.460) noted that the British trading companies demanded for concessions to own plantations in the eastern Nigeria in 1900s, as the Joint Committee of Liverpool, London and Manchester Chamber of Commerce argued that the establishment of plantations would improve the production capacity of palm oil in the territory. The British colonial office, however, rejected their presentation, bearing in mind the effect this would have on the African or peasant farmers. The British believed that this should remain a village industry, claiming that any change toward modern method must be done gradually (NAI, Ibadan Ministry of Agriculture (Ib. Min Agric) 1/298/17457, NAE, War Prof, File 367, Plantation Scheme 1948). However,

by 1948 the colonial government started to reconsider its opposition to European plantations in eastern Nigeria, with production of palm oil by the locals that was too low to meet British export demands. The granting of concessions to Europeans did not by mean the alienation of African from their land, (Allister, 1997 p.460) because the companies were expected to incorporate the local people into their plantation programme by entering into agreement with the local landowners. It is noted that despite this, land was also alienated for the purpose of plantations in the Delta.

As an exception to the above, the United African Company (UAC) was granted permission to own plantations in the eastern Delta, Benin and Calabar. Aghalino (2004 pp.23-25) asserts that:

The colonial government had earlier decided to embark upon a programme of assisting the local farmers to cultivate improved seedlings... These were the participation of UAC and the individual farmers. The UAC systematically undertook experiments aimed at improving the method for increased yield, and also the method of palm oil extraction.

The UAC started its plantation farming in the western delta of Ajabodudu, and in the district of Ikotombo in the New Calabar area of Ijaw land (CSO 26/File 43683). The cultivation of these areas increased the volume of palm oil export to Europe.

Table 5: Oil Palm Plantations 1928-36

Year	Number of owners	Number of acres
Dec 31 1928	6	21
1929	27	119
1930	53	236
1931	85	352
1932	218	691
1933	382	1,014
1934	704	1,457
1935	1,382	2,498
1936	2,278	41,172

Sources: Annual Report on the Agricultural Department, 1928-36, Lagos Government Printer, (cited in Ekundare, An Economic History, p.165)

The above table reveals the impact of plantation farming on the Delta province and the eastern part of the country. The effect of the plantation on those centres to a large extent reduced the numbers of acreage of land intended for the production of food crops in the Delta (Aghalino, 2004 p.29).

Table 6: Palm oil production estimates and palm kernel exports 1900-1944

Year	Total production(estimates) palm oil	Total export palm oil	Total export palm kernel
1900-4	117,358	53,729	12,778
1905-9	115,770	65,177	130,241
1910-14	154,878	77,771	174,236
1915-19	164,060	80,485	184,567
1920-24	180,463	90,352	203,021
1925-9	227,084	124,716	255,469
1930-4	224,070	122,302	274, 584
1935-9	296,889	139,000	334,000
1940-4	284,889	134,377	320,613

Sources: Nigerian Handbook 1936, and Nigerian Trade Report 1939, Lagos, Government Printer.

The table above reveals the result of the British support and promotion of cash crops through improved planting of palm trees and seedling in the eastern and western Delta of Nigeria. The increasing number of hand press machines aided the large volume of palm oil supplies from Ijaw land and its hinterland to the United Kingdom between 1900 and 1944 (Ekundare, 1973 p.166).

It became clear that the palm oil producers in the Ijaw land as well as the British administrator benefitted maximally in the plantation scheme. The issue of environmental exploitation that many scholars tend to attribute to the British colonial government must be reviewed, because both the peasant farmers and the British company (UAC) were responsible for the exploitation of natural resources in the Delta region and eastern Nigeria (Aghalino, 2004 p.29). Lastly, improvement in transportation and communication in the Delta area contributed to the opening up those centers that produced palm oil in Ijaw land and its hinterland. For instance, the proximity of the railway terminal to Port Harcourt and Ijaw land facilitated evacuation of palm oil products to Lagos and thence Britain (Interview with Edward, 2021).

4. Impact of the Colonial Welfare and Development Plan on the Ijaw after 1945

This section explores the motives behind the initiation of the welfare and development plan by the British colonial government. In the post-war years, the British colonial administration passed the Colonial Welfare and Development Act in Nigeria, as a ten-year project effective from 1946 and 1956. The plan was initiated as a result of the economic disarray experienced in Britain after the war (West African Review, 1947 p.172), but was to set the colonies on a path towards development, ensure that its colonies benefitted from economic programmes, and prepare them for self-rule. It was also another option for Britain to use and mobilize resources within its colonies for the reconstruction and building of its own economy.

A member of the British parliament, WM. Gallagher, commented at a symposium:
Britain is facing a very deep, very threatening economic crisis. The dollar octopus is sucking the life's blood out of the country. We take American goods, but America doesn't take our goods. Americans demand dollar. To escape this crisis every resources at the disposal of Britain must be utilized. Thus, it explained the urgent need to develop the

long-neglected resources of Africa (West African Review, 1947 p.196).

Ekundare (1973, p.126) asserts that the Act was necessary toward improvement on health, education, and building of research facilities, such as, dietetic research, veterinary scheme, and tsetse-fly investigation. It was aimed at creating an infrastructure that would attract foreign investment in industry and agriculture. Agricultural promotion and production in cash crops was strategically planned to boost the volumes of export to United Kingdom, particularly in palm oil, cocoa and groundnut. Colonial report has revealed that The peasant farmers got more incentives through extensive training and funding toward agricultural productivity in Nigeria (NAI, (National Archive Ibadan), CSO 1290/45).

On the other hand, Onimode (2001, pp.12-13), however, contends that:

The colonial planning was a framework for consolidating and maintaining underdevelopment, which allow British officials to appropriate the countries surpluses back to Britain by discouraging internal dynamics towards development of manufacturing, stagnation of agrarian sector, and to foster mass illiteracy to perpetuate backward technological know-how...

Colonial welfare planning was merely meant to streamline the British imperialistic exploitation of the country's natural resources to the advantage of its home industries. Despite the intention of the British colonial government to increase the amount of imperial assistance in Nigeria, particularly to be able to develop their own resources, the welfare Act according to Wicker (1958, p.171) discouraged traditional manufacturing by reducing it to mere commercial economy.

As reported by the colonial select committee on estimate, the welfare lasted too long, was realistic and failed for lack of funds (Fifth Report, 1947-48). Despite the total amount of £23 million set aside for the execution of projects, such as agricultural development, construction of trunk roads, education at primary school, technical and vocational training, public health and medical services, only about £8 million was spent between 1945 and 1951 in Nigeria (Fifth Report, 1947-48).

5. Nationalist agitations and reactions of the Ijaws to the British Oil Regulations in 1946

This section examines how the Ijaws participated within the context of the independence struggle and nationalism movement, particularly their reactions to the colonial welfare and development plan on agricultural land and oil ordinances on the local land owners and farmers in 1946.

The Zikist Movement in the 1940s started as a result of the colonial government's proposed amendment to the existing laws, pioneered by Nnamdi Azikwe, a newspaper editor and founder of the West African Pilot had aroused national consciousness on emerging Nigeria (Akinsuroju, 1953 p7). The colonial government under Governor General Richard proposed amendment of the Crown Land Ordinance, the Mineral Ordinance, and the Appointment and Deposition of Chiefs Ordinance in 1945 (Annual Volume of Laws of Nigeria, 1947). The Zikist Movement argued that the public land and mineral ordinances, if amended, would protect the interest of the foreign powers while the local shareholders would reap no benefits. To Ehiedu, (1996, p.33) the nationalist called these the 'obnoxious ordinances'. Kaniye (2001, p.22) believes this to be unjust because it deprived the colonised people of the benefit of their natural property.

As a result of the resentment to the proposed amendment bills, the new Governor General, G.G. John Macpherson in 1947 reviewed the bills, bearing in mind the nationalist demands before it was passed into law (Agricultural Ordinance, 1948). The Zikist Movement represented a revolutionary break with colonialism that expressed a reformist evolutionary way toward freedom in Nigeria. The movement exerted a great influence on all ethnic groups in the country, but in particular in the East and the Delta where their support base was located.

It is noted that the Ijaw nationalists such as Harold Dappa-Biriye got his inspiration from the Zikist movement, which inspired him and the local people to make demands for the growth and development of the relatively backward Delta area. Dappa-Biriye championed the course of the Ijaws within Oloibiri and elsewhere in the 1940s for a separate political entity, based on the argument that this was a large ethnic group that occupied a very vast area in the Delta (Ehiedu, 1996, p.43). Onduku (2001), argued that the agitation of the Ijaw Rivers People's League in the 1940s, which comprised the city states such as Nembe, Bonny, New Calabari, and villages such as

Oloibiri, encouraged the British colonial government to establish the Rivers Province in 1947.

As was the case with many minority groups within Nigeria by the 1950s, the Ijaw wanted the colonial government to recognize them as a separate ethnic group, specifically because of a fear of domination and lack of infrastructure development. Dappa-Biriye's campaign was channeled through the Niger Delta Congress (NDC) founded in 1947, specifically to have equality with other major ethnic group in the country. This in part, illustrates the resentment bred by the colonial government's practice of favouring the needs of the Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani in terms of development during the colonial era to the neglect of the roughly 247 other ethnic groups in the country (NAE (National Archive Enugu) 1280/68).

Kathryn (2009, pp.52-53) opined that within the context of negotiations for an independent Nigerian state, the Ijaw demanded a separate region from the Eastern Region, in which they found themselves, which would cover the whole of Ijaw-land including Ahoada and Port Harcourt. Port Harcourt, after it was established in 1913, had become an important commercial centre for the Ijaws, helped by its closeness to Oloibiri, particularly when oil was found on their land in the 1950s (Encyclopedia of African History, 2005). The Niger Delta wanted new states such as Apa, Itai, Ogoja, Izon (Ijaw), to free them from the Yorubas, Hausa, and Igbo, and make them a majority group at independence. In order to address minority fears, the British government appointed a commission of inquiry into the claims made by the Ijaws and other minority groups in 1957 (Paki, 2011 p.80, Esekumemu, 2017 pp.123-124).

The Secretary of State to the colonies, Oliver Stanley, announcing the creation of the Willink Commission asserted:

Though the desire for the creation of new states arises from the fear of minorities, it would be impracticable to meet all the fears by the creation of new states. There are many different ethnic groups and people in Nigeria and however many states were created, minorities would still inevitably remain (National Concord Newspaper, 1994 p.13, Guardian Newspaper, 1994, p.4).

The Willink Commission was set up in 1957 to achieve the following objectives:

"1) To ascertain the facts about the fears of minorities in any part of Nigeria and to propose means of allaying those fears whether well or ill founded.

2) To advise what safeguards should be included for this purpose in the constitution of Nigeria.

3) If, but only if, no other solution seems to the commission to meet the case, then as a last resort to make detailed recommendations for the creation of one or more new states and in that case:

- a) to specify the precise area to be included in such a state or states;
- b) to recommend the governmental and administrative structure most appropriate for it.
- c) to assess whether any state recommended would be viable from an economic and administrative point of view and what the effect of its creation would be on the regions from which it would be created and on the federation.

4) To report its findings and recommendations to the Secretary of States for the Colonies" (NAE, 1290/1957).

As was the case with other minorities, the Ijaw's claim for a separate region was rejected by the Willink Commission (Kathryn, 2009 pp.52-53), as clear in the words of Phillip Manson, a member of the commission, that:

Neither Ogoja nor River showed themselves very anxious to be subject to Calabar, enthusiasm for a state that would have the Benin Empire dwindled as one moved away from Benin; the areas that displayed and interest in the middle belt state... who were either indifferent or, as one of them put it, preferred Fulani rule to Tiv (Akinyele, 1996, pp.79).

The commission argued further that:

It is of the first importance to find means of allaying fears which do not perpetuate differences that might otherwise disappear... This is why we do not accept in its entirety the grouping that is, the principle that a recognizable ethnic group should whenever possible form a political unit.

In short, the Willink Commission found that the creation of more regions would simply create new minority dispute that would in turn be contested by other minority groups. In their view, the creation of new regions to cater for minority fear would simply snowball over the long term and lead to the creation of more and more regions without solving the problem of majority domination. Despite this, the commission did agree that, there was need to permit areas with 'distinguishable culture' within a region to preserve the element of their culture.

On the issue of neglect, the commission argued that a special measure to speed up the pace of development in terms of material progress must be put in place in the Niger Delta. The Ijaw, as a result of the commission's report, would be given special treatment as an area with a development board

instituted by the federal government, as well as the eastern and western regional governments, that would require both human and financial commitments to address the special development problems of the Delta. The Ijaws did not achieve their goal, despite the recommendation of the commission. However, the colonial government established the Niger Delta Development Board in 1960 to hasten the infrastructural development of the region. It was left for the post-colonial government to attend to their needs.

6. Conclusion

This paper has examined the structure of the Ijaw political economy during the colonial administration in Nigeria. It demonstrated that the British colonial government was motivated to promote cash crops into economy as a means of sourcing for revenue toward the development of its projects within Nigeria such as roads, transport, education and health. At the same time they sought to increase exports of cash crops to their home country. The British economy system had merely intensified a process that was already well established and set before the onset of its administration in Nigeria. As clearly shown in this study, palm oil production was a continuation of the pre-existing export trade relationships in Oloibiri of Ogbia District and the entire Ijaw land with the British. Evidence has revealed that the Native Authority established by the British colonial government was more powerful than the Ijaw kings or chiefs in the palm oil transactions. Although the British also protected the rights of ownership of the local people in terms of land concessions for palm oil production. Many Europeans signified their interests in owning plantations in the Niger Delta, but were turned down by the British. The UAC (United African Company), however, was permitted by the British to owned and managed plantations in Benin and Calabar in 1948. It is noted that the Zikist movement largely serves as an influencing factor on the Ijaw people, particularly when they demanded for a separate state in the Delta region for fear of dominations from the Yorubas, Hausa and the Igbos. Their desire for a separate region was turned down by the Willink Commission of enquiry, but the commission reported that the entire Delta region has being backward and poor that needed urgent government attention. It concludes that the discovery of crude oil of commercial quantity in Oloibiri by 1956, marked a turning point in the history of the Ijaws, Niger Delta and Nigeria, though oil only became a dominant foreign exchange earnings from the early 1970s. The Ijaw oil producing communities were thus in the forefront of petroleum industry that

partly brought some transformation into their socio-economic system in terms of manpower development and capacity building.

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Language and Xenophobic Sentiments in South Africa

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Abstract. Cities are often subjected to external influences due to mass migration of people in search of better life. The migrants are sometimes faced with rejection by the host community, as they (the migrants) are often seen as competing for limited resources with their hosts. The xenophobic sentiments have motivated research on the problems encountered by immigrants in South Africa, which may include the impact of language of the media. This is because language is an embodiment of culture and an easy resource to access the community, as well as disseminate information. This study is set to explore the impact of language on xenophobic sentiment in South Africa with focus on Sesotho people in Bloemfontein. The exploration of the impact of language on anti-foreigner sentiments would help to identify the hidden power of the press in the dissemination of information in the society and how this information steers one's mind and directly or indirectly controls it. The data for the study were collected through face-to-face interview, and the analysis of some selected news extracts that relates to xenophobic sentiment in South Africa. A total of 54 people were interviewed. The study reveals words used to refer to foreigners and that these words do not contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa. Rather, xenophobic sentiments are caused by competition of limited available resources, theft, poverty, drugs related crimes, prostitution and human trafficking attributed to foreigners, as well as competition in the area of businesses.

Keywords: Xenophobia, sentiments, attacks, discourse analysis, Sesotho, foreigner, negative attitude

1. Introduction

As the world economy becomes increasingly competitive, people move from one place to another for various reasons: business, education, sports, tourism, politics and better health care among others.

These movements lead to contacts between people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. In other words, all societies and cultures are subject to external influences due to mass migration. South Africa has been a melting pot of Africa since the end of apartheid and people from far and near troop into the country for different purposes. In 1994, South Africa experienced the challenges of a multicultural and multilingual society more than ever before. With the inception of democratic rule in 1994 and Blacks as the holders of power, expectations were that racism, discrimination and intimidations will vanish in South Africa. However, not only that some group continue to resist transformation and continue upholding discrimination agenda, xenophobia is thus included in the list of social vices.

Xenophobia and racism seem to be used interchangeably, although they can have wholly different meanings. Xenophobia is a fear for a stranger or foreigner, but not necessary mean from other countries, but also other culture and belief. Webster's ninth new collegiate dictionary (1983:1364) defines xenophobia as a fear and hatred of strangers or foreigners or anything that is strange or foreign to the person. The person has fears and his consciously attack is targeted only towards the strangers or foreigners. Ditsheko (2007) claims that "xenophobia is a fear that comes from a real-life experience, where nearly every artisan and other non-skilled jobs are given to foreigners, who either do not mind inhumanly low wages or they just need free rent and food rations to be able to see the next day". To Solomon and Kosaka (2019), xenophobia is the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers; it is embodied in discriminatory attitudes and behaviour, and often culminates in violence, abuses of all types, and exhibitions of hatred.

Racism on the other hand, is a belief that a particular race portrays unwanted or unacceptable features. The common thing about xenophobia and racism is on

“negative attitude” directed to “foreigners” and “other race” respectively. The ethnic “prejudices are acquired, shared and legitimated mainly through various kinds of discursive communication among members of the dominant group in the society” (Van Dijk, 1989:115). The prejudice can encourage negative sentiments, discrimination, and hatred among the minority/foreigner and the dominant groups in the society leading to xenophobia and racism.

Language penetrates all sectors and it is a key resource in all aspects of the society. It is used to strengthen inter-personal relationships as well as encourage divisions, hatred and discriminations. Any burning issue in the society, such as xenophobia and racism are expressed with language and escalated in the media. The media has a great power (both positive and negative) in steering people’s mind in the society. Thus, according to Van Dijk (1992:201), in the everyday lives of the dominant group, “conversations about minorities, immigrants, refugees or ethnic and racial affairs more generally serve to express and persuasively convey their ethnic beliefs, attitudes and ideologies, as well as their commonsense interpretations of concrete ethnic events”.

2. Background Information on Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa

On Sunday, 11th May, 2008, violence against foreign residents broke out in South Africa. This violence began in Alexandra (a township in the Gauteng province of South Africa which formed part of the city of Johannesburg) and rapidly spread to other communities across the country. Many foreigners were displaced; they took refuge in different places of safety, such as police stations, community halls, as well as churches. Without shelter, food and other basic resources, these foreigners were trapped and many of them immediately returned to their different home countries. However, others, such as refugees, asylum seekers, migrant workers and those without legal papers were unable to return to their countries or find alternative places to stay and were in need of large-scale of humanitarian relief. According to Johwa (2009), more than 60 foreigners were killed in the attacks. All the killings and lootings are attributed to xenophobia. The situation leads to tensions among foreign nationals in all part of South Africa including Bloemfontein where this study was conducted.

Bloemfontein is a city situated in the middle of the Province, and in the central area of South Africa. Bloemfontein was founded in 1846 and was the

capital of the former Afrikaner Republic called the Orange Free State. In 1909, Bloemfontein was the site for the final negotiations between the British and the Afrikaners/Boers that led to the founding of the Union of South Africa a year later (*South African Yearbook, 2006/2007*). Most of the residents of Bloemfontein are from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, which include: Mozambique, Lesotho, Nigeria, Botswana, Bangladesh, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya, Malawi, Pakistan, Somalia, and Zimbabwe.

One of the objectives of this study is to examine if derogatory language about foreigners provides evidence for xenophobic sentiments in South Africa society. Also, the study assessed if media played roles in spreading the attacks on the foreign nationals. According to Van Dijk (n.d.), “the media plays a fundamental role in the reproduction of racism in society, by portraying minorities as well as foreigners as problematic and deviant from the country’s accepted way of life”. It is especially the significance of the power of words (whether spoken, as in conversations which could lead to verbal conflict; or written, for example the power, unfairness and unbalanced report of the press) which are significant for this study. The power of words can trigger xenophobic sentiments if the arguments are so deeply emotional, and are not controlled among the people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. For Bavelas *et al.* (1985), conflict is verbal (involving unpleasant and negative words) before going physical. This kind of verbal conflicts (arguments) could result in xenophobic sentiments/attacks and stereotypes.

3. Previous Studies

There are some scholars who had worked or studied the power of words among the minority groups and foreigners. Some of these studies include Van Dijk (1996), with the objective to assess who controls the preparation, participants, goals, language, genre, speech acts, topics, schemata (e.g. headlines and quotes), style and rhetoric, among other text features of communicative events. Van Dijk’s study reveals that the portrayal of illegality in the press is never on the power holders (employers, business owners and all the others who exploit the minorities or immigrants and pay sub-standard wages or those who are involved in illegal hiring). According to Van Dijk (*ibid*), the immigrants and minorities have limited or no access to the press and are dominated and controlled. In this case, anything that goes to the press is *mostly* in favour of the majority or people in power. Measures of discourse access may be rather

faithful indicators of the power of social groups and their members. Van Dijk enumerates different groups and their power holders:

- In education, educators control the communicative events and distribute speaking turns among learners.
- At home, parents control not only the manner of the children's communication, but also what they read or watch, especially on television.
- In the journalistic world, editors and news reporters control the news headlines. They have free access to how the topics should appear in the papers. They (editors and news reporters) also control the style of the texts and the pictures which directly or indirectly control the mind of every reader.

Media according to Van Dijk (n.d.) plays a fundamental role in the reproduction of racism in society by defining minority groups as well as foreigners as problematic, deviant or criminal. These negative attitudes to foreigners/minorities are summarised by Gotsbachner (2001; see figure 1).

In another study, Van Dijk (1988a) examines the manner in which ethnic minority groups are portrayed in the European press. According to him, if ethnic news (news on minority groups) is prominent at all in the media:

it is usually negative or presented in a negative form such as crime, violence, riots and demonstrations; and

If the news is *not* negative, it tends to be highly stereotypical. In other words, the minority groups are described as:

- living in ghettos or poor inner-city neighbourhoods,
- are on welfare,
- do badly at school,
- are unemployed,
- make constant demands,
- never satisfied; and
- cause difficulties to the society.

Van Dijk (1996) summarised the role of media in biased and unequal reporting: "most immigrants can do any kind of job for any wage, even working for a pittance which also implies that they out-compete white British workers". According to him, such a situation supports the familiar racist conclusion that immigrants are taking away the indigenes' jobs. Van Dijk states that the emphasis in the newspaper articles has never been that most white British people no longer want the odd jobs. Since the focus of the article is on minorities or foreigners, the writers never

mention that the desperate minorities (or foreigners) are under-paid and over-worked. Also, the negative attitude of the British people towards immigrants is evidenced from the newspaper headlines which were in bold capital letters and attention-seeking bullets depicting various forms of deviance, violation and crime attributed to immigrants or foreigners. These include lies, fraud and not paying taxes (Van Dijk, 1996). The analysis explains how the British press have preferential access to the public definition of immigration and minorities, as well as to the derogation of people as criminals, fraudsters, radical assassins and as people invading armies. The articles at the same time present the British people as tolerant, tough and valiant as well as victims. The news of this sort has never been balanced, because the access to media and its contents are in itself never balanced.

The study by Pillay (2008) discloses the negative attitudes of South Africans towards foreigners. Pillay's study reveals that 25% of South Africans want a total ban on immigrants, 45% supported strict limitations on the number of immigrants allowed into South Africa. According to him, a large percentage of respondents opposed offering African non-citizens the same access to a house as South Africans. Pillay's study further reveals that 54% felt that immigrants put additional strains on the economy. In addition, 65% of black respondents said they would be "likely" or "very likely" to take action to prevent people from other countries operating a business in their areas. According to Pillay (2008:21), xenophobic sentiments can be of "social" than "linguistic". Language penetrates all sectors of the society, and even when the xenophobic sentiment is "social", it is expressed with language. The reasons or causes of xenophobic sentiments in South Africa, as revealed by Pillay (2008) are based on three factors: poverty, feelings of virtual deprivation and a widespread perception in South Africa that foreigners are generally involved in high-level organised crime.

Igglesden (2008) evaluates the humanitarian assistance provided to people who were displaced by violence, mainly targeted at foreign nationals with focus on Gauteng and the Western Cape. Field research was conducted from 1 June until 31 September 2008. According to Igglesden, account of the humanitarian response to the crisis following attacks on foreigners gives a sense of the complex and fluid nature of the partnerships and cooperation mechanisms in both regions (Gauteng and Western Cape) of organisations that participated in the delivery of humanitarian assistance to internally displaced foreigners. The account clearly

demonstrates the extent to which lack of communication impeded the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons (IDPs). Confusion about responsibilities, lines of communication, norms and standards of provision and overall objectives whilst trying to plan and strategise mid-crisis the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance meant that officials often had neither channels, mandates nor appropriate information for communication. A further profound effect of the lack of communication was conflict and intransigence - most notably amongst IDPs (but not entirely limited thereto) - as frustration, alienation and, for some, further traumatization increasingly took their toll.

Solomon and Kosaka (2019) look at why xenophobia has pervaded South African, what has contributed to enemy images of foreigners, and how, such images can be removed from the national consciousness and better the current situation. The study also looks at xenophobia from the perspective of those who experienced it through qualitative research conducted in Mbekweni, Paarl, Eastern Cape and Bloemfontein, Free State in 2013. The most important reasons behind the prevalence of xenophobia in South Africa according to Solomon and Kosaka (2019) are economic and the tendency to criminalise foreigners. Proclamations from politicians coupled with media reporting on drug syndicates, prostitution and human trafficking, all feed and in turn feed off a popular perception that migrants are bad for South African society and its economy. It is easy for the media and the government to blame immigrants for crime, unemployment and housing problems which can be detrimental for the economy, culture, society and international image of South Africa. Solomon and Kosaka (2019) outlined eight suggestions which media must play as a vital role in educational process. They are:

- The curriculum for journalism education should be re-examined to determine how best journalists can be trained to help create an environment that is more conducive to effective intercultural communication, understanding and harmony;
- Tertiary institutions that offer courses on communication and journalism should incorporate information on refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in learning modules;
- Editors should spell out a clear and deliberate editorial policy for coverage on refugee and migrant issues;
- Stakeholders and experts on refugees, asylum seeker and migrant issues should

publish a catalogue of possible sources to be used by journalists in covering these issues;

- Sensational and criminalising language should be dropped completely;
- Journalists and editors should pay attention to how they report immigration statistics they receive from 'official sources', there should be critical assessment of the source;
- The media should individually and through collective bodies actively seek ways of ridding their pages, bulletins and programmes of harmful racial stereotypes;
- Journalists, trade unions and other professional media forums should develop a media network against xenophobia that will define a code of conduct and spearhead campaigns for its implementation as common practice;

Apte (1994:4349) states that "a stereotype is intertwined with strong positive or negative attitudes, and the concept of stereotype primarily focuses on the knowledge of other socio-cultural groups, especially factual or putative racial and ethnic characteristics and their behaviour". Apte further states that stereotypes of a group may be based on some factors, such as occupation, sex, age, social or and economic status. According to Coates and Cameron (1988:8), "stereotyping is most often suffered by minority groups, who are socially subordinate and/or stigmatised in a society". These stereotypes, which result in stigma and subordination, are expressed through language and are often escalated in the media.

All the studies show the negative portrayal of ethnic minority groups and immigrants/foreigners in the European press. One common feature of Van Dijk's work is his attention on the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in different social and political contexts.

4. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework employ for the analysis of the data is critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Semantic fields in discourse about foreigners (Gotsbachner, 2001). Critical discourse analysis began as a programmatic development in European discourse studies spearheaded by Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk and others (Blommaer & Bulcaen, 2000:447). The root of CDA, according to Wodak (2004), lies in the concepts of rhetoric, text linguistics and sociolinguistics, as well as in applied linguistics and pragmatics. According to

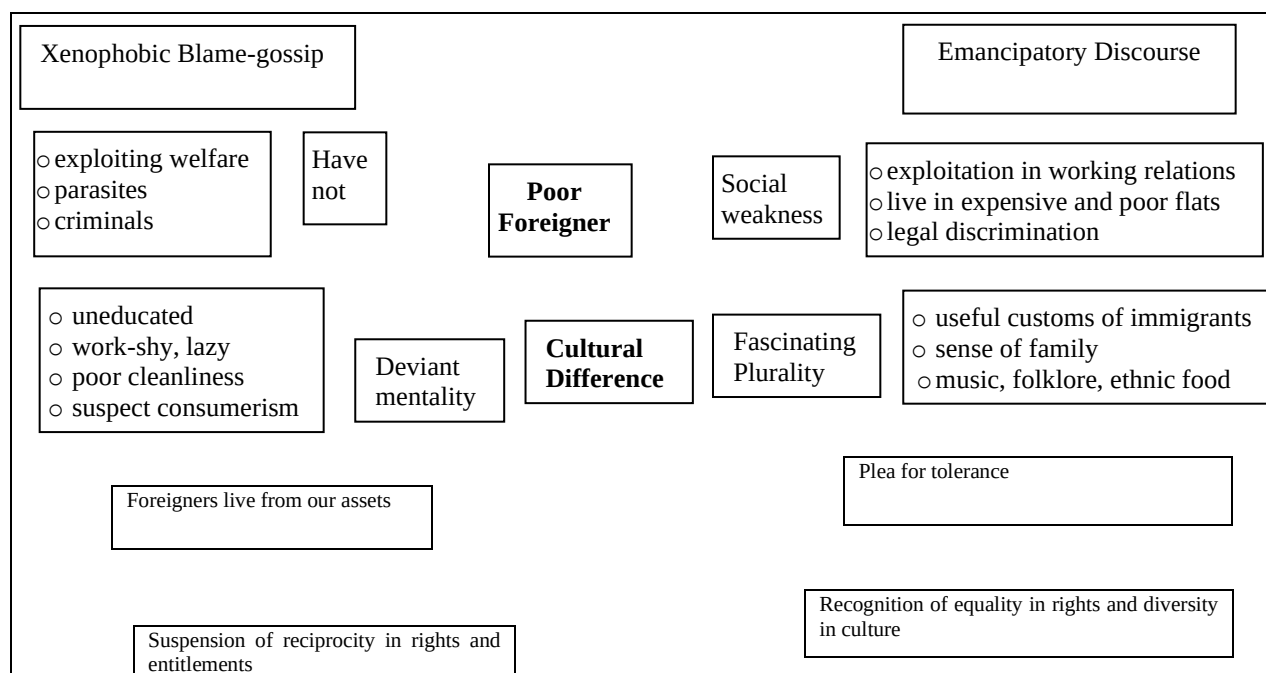
Wodak (Ibid), the CDA network emerged in the early 1990's, following a symposium in Amsterdam where she (Wodak), Van Dijk, Fairclough, Kress and Leeuwen discussed the theories and methods of DA. The early interest in systematic DA was essentially a descriptive and structuralist enterprise, mainly at the boundaries of linguistics and anthropology with interest primarily involving indigenous or popular genres, such as folk tales, myths and stories as well as some ritual interaction form (Van Dijk, 1985). Just as many sociologically-oriented conversation analysts analyse interactions in the hope of gaining insight into how people succeed in forming a community or society, the critical discourse analysts see discourse as an instrument to gain insight into societal problems (Renkema, 2004). According to Van Dijk (1996), one of the crucial tasks of CDA is to account for the relationship between discourse and social power. The analysis of which according to him should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and

talk of the dominant groups' institution in the press. Fairclough (1989) states that the elements of discourse are text, interaction and social context. Their corresponding distinctions are the description of text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction and an explanation of the relationship between interaction and social contexts. According to Fairclough (1992), every discourse instance has three dimensions:

- it is a spoken or written language text, and an interaction between two or more people;
- involving processes of producing and interpreting the text; and
- is part of a piece of social action.

The second framework employs in this study is semantic fields in discourse about foreigners by Gotsbachner (2001). Semantic fields in discourse about foreigners is organised around two topics: xenophobic blame-gossip and emancipatory discourse as shown in the following figure.

Figure 1: Semantic Fields in Discourse About Foreigners



Gotsbachner (2001)

Xenophobic blame-gossip and emancipatory discourse according to Gotsbachner (2001) have been identified as focal concepts of discourse about foreigners. To talk about "poor foreigners" or about "cultural differences" can vary in meaning from differently oriented people, either emancipator as "social weakness" and "fascinating plurality" (as represented in the right side of the figure); or

xenophobic as "have-nots" (do not have anything) and "deviants' mentality" (as represented in the left side of the figure). The different representations (positive and negative perception of the foreigners) are concluded under the bottom line. "Emancipatory discourse" plea for tolerance and recognition of equality in the rights and diversity in culture of all the foreigners, while "xenophobic blame-gossip" is

legitimation of why immigrants need not be treated as having equal human rights like the citizens. The above figure shows that, in any country, the attitudes towards the foreigners is either positive (tolerance and recognition of equality in their rights and the diversity in culture of all the foreigners) or negative (marginalisation, deprivation and unequal treatment).

5. Research Methodology

Data for this study were obtained from primary and secondary sources. From the secondary source, we consulted a number of South African Newspapers with focus on themes relating to xenophobic attacks or sentiments. Some of the newspapers consulted include:

- Daily New
- City Press
- The Star
- Sowetan

The primary source of data collection was interview, which was done through face to face interaction. The interview was used to gather facts, opinions and personal views from Sesotho people (representing South Africa) and foreign nationals residing in Bloemfontein. A total of 54 people were interviewed. Unstructured questions were used for the interviews. The interviews were conducted in different locations such as University of the Free State, restaurants, shops and some of the respondents' homes. The foreign national interviewed were from different countries. They include; Mozambique, Lesotho, Nigeria and Botswana, Bangladesh, Burundi, DRC, Kenya, Malawi, Pakistan, Somalia, and Zimbabwe.

The Findings and Discussion

In this section, the data collected for the study were presented and analysed. On question, *Do you have words used to refer to foreigners?* (The question was addressed only to Sesotho people.) Almost all the participants (99%) ascertained that they have words used to refer to foreigners. When asked to mention the words used to refer to foreigners in Sesotho language, the participated gave the following words as shown below:

- Lekwerekwere/Makwerekwere
- Mazwanzwiri
- Lekomfere
- Matswantle*
- Siya thengisa
- Bomokgotsi*
- Magrigamba

Apart from "iv" (matswantle) and "vi" (bomokgotsi) which are followed by an asterisk, all are negative

words used to refer to foreigners in Sesotho. The words with asterisk are mostly used positively to refer to foreigners. Even the words in "iv" and in "vi", are sometimes used negatively to refer to foreigners, depending on the tone of the person's voice, according to one of our respondents.

Some of these words, such as "*lekwerekwere*", "*makwerekwere*" "*magrigamba*" and "*mazwanzwiri*" according to the Sesotho participants are the negative words generally used to refer to African foreigners.

"*Lekomfere*" means someone from afar in Sesotho and is often used negatively to refer to foreigners.

"*Matswantle*" is a Sesotho common word for foreigners; it is never used negatively in any context.

"*Siya thengisa*" is an isiZulu phrase meaning "we are selling". But the Sesotho people use this phrase negatively to refer to foreigners, especially the foreigners who sell things from house to house (the hawkers).

"*Bomokgotsi*" is a Sesotho word, meaning "friend". Since some foreigners tend to address them (the Sesotho) as "friend" probably because they do not know or remember their names, in return, the Sesotho equally address foreigners with the word; this is not meant negatively.

In responding to the same question, "*Do you think that foreigners like words used to refer to them?*", majority of the Sesotho participants (61%) said that *foreigners* do not like such words.

On the question, "*If you are being referred to with such words, would you be happy?*" Eighty seven percent (87%) of the Sesotho that participated in the study believed that they would not be happy if they were addressed or referred to with such words. It means that anybody who uses the words to refer to foreigners has a negative attitude towards the person she or he is referring to. According to Van Dijk (1998), negative attitudes or prejudiced attitudes show both in discriminatory actions and are communicated to other group members of the society through unbalanced media reports. Negative attitudes towards others may result in xenophobic sentiments.

6. Results on Language Use in Newspapers

With regard to question which elicits if the participants read newspapers, almost all the participants 99% ascertained that they read newspapers. In responding to question on the frequency with which the participants read the newspapers, the results from both the foreign nationals and the Sesotho participants reveal the high frequency with which the participants read newspapers. Eleven percent (11%) and 89% of the foreigners always and often read the newspapers, respectively, while 19% and 78% of Sesotho

participants always and often read newspapers respectively.

With regard to the question “*Does the language use in South African newspapers portrays foreigners negatively?*”, the participants’ responses indicate that 89% of the foreigners and 69% of the Sesotho participants are of the opinion that the language used in South African newspapers portrays the foreigners as negative. Earlier study reveals that many foreigners (53%) married men have South African women as their wife (see Ideh, 2010), the marriage did not rule out the negative perception of foreigners among the South Africans. According to Pillay (2008), there is a widespread perception that foreigners are involved in high-level organised crime, in particular drug trafficking, which draws in young people as partners to this crime and has led to an escalating problem of addiction and drug abuse.

Extracts from Newspapers

The news headlines with regards to xenophobic violence and sentiments were ambivalence. While some newspapers report the attacks on the foreigners as xenophobia, others report it as criminal acts. The following are some of the extracts from some selected newspaper focusing on attacks on the foreigners.

Extract 1

They wanted to chop me with an axe but I moved away. They took all my belonging”. He stated further that he and other foreigners were beaten by about 20 or 30 men and forced them to handover their belongings before the bar was ransacked (Foreigners; Daily News, 21st May 2008, page 1)

Extract 2

African migrants who have been the targets of the xenophobic violence cannot be blamed for unemployment in South Africa and they often create jobs themselves Deputy President told the city press. The Deputy President had earlier officially apologised to foreigners for the pain they had endured since hate attacks broke out across South Africa. It is not acceptable that we say foreigners are taking our jobs. We recruit people from other countries to come and help us in our skills shortage. On that high level, people come and fill positions that by and large we cannot fill ourselves. At the grassroots levels in townships, most of these people are traders who create jobs, we can’t punish people for their creativity and ingenuity. They are prepared to walk the extra mile to start that business (Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka, a former Deputy President of South Africa, City Press, 25th June 2008; page 12)

Extract 3

I now feared for my life because things are getting worse, things like this are happening in Johannesburg. I believe what happened here is related to xenophobic attacks in Gauteng (Foreigner and the owner of one bar in Johannesburg; Daily News, 21st May 2008, page 1)

Extract 4

I think this attack was more criminally motivated than xenophobic in nature because these guys looted the place.

Police were called out to Pine street where a group of local vendors and saloon owners had gathered, ordering foreign nationals to vacate the shops. The locals accused the foreign businesses of putting them out of business and said tensions had risen in recent weeks (Khoza, a South African, Daily News, 21st May 2008, page 1)

Extract 5

In Warwick Triangle area taxi drivers apparently gathered and started beating street vendors and those who have small businesses near the Claremont taxi rank. Witnesses said while the foreigners were being beaten, those in support of the attackers were shouting out that the foreigners must leave the country as they were not welcome here, “we are doing this to support our brothers in Johannesburg, we do not want these people here, they must go back to their countries” (Daily News Reporter, 21st May 2008, page 1).

Extract 6

“We are not happy with the way South Africans are treating us. They call us *kwerekwere* and it makes me feel bad. When the attacks happened last month, I was so scared I couldn’t go outside my house. I have been here with my husband and two kids for six years, and we work very hard. There are no jobs in Maputo, so we can’t go back home. I want South Africans to treat us like they treat everybody else. In the salon where I work, there are some nice people; the South Africans here are my sisters” (Foreigner from Maputo, Mozambique; The Star, 25th June 2008, Page 13).

Extract 7

The IFP has pledged to cooperate with the authorities to help stop the xenophobic violence threatening to engulf Durban. This comes after a group from Dalton men’s hostel attacked a City Pub-restaurant owned by a foreigner (Mhlaba Memela, Sowetan, 22nd May 2008, Page 8)

The extract one does not only portray xenophobic attack but also jealousy leading to day-time robbery in South Africa. In other words South Africans were envious of foreigners' possessions and achievements, they gang up against them, beating and looting their wares. The poor foreigners were helpless and totally depend on the government to help them stop the attacks.

From the News extracts, we can say that the xenophobic experienced in South Africa was not supported by South African government. For example, we deduce the following from extract two:

- African migrants cannot be blamed for unemployment in South Africa
- African migrants create jobs themselves
- African migrants endured pain since hate attacks broke out across South Africa
- It is not acceptable that we say foreigners are taking our jobs
- South Africans recruit people from other countries to help them in their skills shortage
- South Africans are not supposed to punish people for their creativity and ingenuity
- African migrants walk extra mile to start their own businesses

This report supports Pelser (2008:12) that foreigners are not taking South African's jobs, rather "South African government recruits people from other countries to come and help South Africa in the skills, in which there were shortages". He adds that most foreigners who are trading are very creative, as they go extra miles to set up their shops and create jobs, even for South Africans.

Extract four is an example of the power of press. Xenophobic attacks started in Gauteng and spread to other parts of South Africa with dissemination of information through media. The media in this context create a platform on which sentiments are recycled and, thus, fills people's minds with negative feelings towards foreigners where it is not necessary. The locals recreate what they have seen happening in other province. Extract four also reveals that South Africans were afraid of competition. The phobia exhibits here is that they are not a match to foreigners who does the same business as they do. It means that the businesses of the foreigners are prospering more than theirs. In other words, the foreigners out-compete locals leading to their jealousy and finding a way of eliminating the foreigners' businesses. However, the study reveals that some lootings that were done doing the xenophobic attacks sometimes extends to the businesses of South Africans. But what was not clear is that if the attackers (South Africans)

know that some of these looted businesses are not for foreigners alone but includes their own brothers and sisters.

Extract five shows that South Africans are hostile to foreigners; they gang up and beat the foreigners who have struggled and established small businesses on their own. Extract five and six report the same issue of the predicament of the foreign nationals. Some South Africans attack foreigners and loot their shops simply because according to them foreigners are "putting them out of business".

Although the majority of the participants ascertained that words used to refer to foreigners do not contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa, these words from extract six shows that South Africans have phobia of and experience negativity towards the foreigners. There is no evidence from the current study that the negative words used to refer to foreigners contribute or fuel xenophobic sentiments/attacks in the country in any way. However, the words (negative words) brought negative feelings. The words can also breed hatred of South African from foreigners. From the extract six, the foreigner live, accept South African as their own but reverse is the case from South Africans who attack their neighbours and wish they leave their country and return back where they come from.

7. Causes of Xenophobic Sentiments/Attacks

In responding to the question, *Do you think that words used to refer to foreigners contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa?* Ninety two percent (92%) and 67% of the participants (foreigners and Sesotho participants respectively) believed that such words do not contribute to xenophobic sentiments in the country. The foreign nationals' opinion on the reasons for xenophobic sentiment was that South Africans are lazy, greedy, envious, jealous, and hatred towards the foreigners. According to one of the respondents, "These South Africans do not want to do anything, yet they want all good life, they are jealous of foreigners that are making it in their country. Often they call us all sort of bad names, and belief that all crimes here are committed by foreigners, some foreigners may be bad, but not all".

On the side of Sesotho participants, xenophobic attack was as a result of the foreigners who are engaged in different kinds of crime like theft, prostitution, drug and taking jobs meant for South Africans, as well as human trafficking. One of our respondents stated that "these foreigners take our jobs and our women; we are fighting with them to get what rightfully belong to us". These findings support

Pillay (2008). According to him, “the causes of xenophobic sentiments in South Africa are perception of a relative deprivation (a general sense of feeling deprived of something to which a person or groups feels entitled to), poverty, and levels of inequality”.

Although all the reasons or factors that lead to xenophobic sentiments are social, they are expressed through language and sometimes escalated in the media. According to Van Dijk (1988b) people often let media account for their knowledge, beliefs and opinions about ethnic minority groups: including the foreigners. The media often portray the minority and the foreigners negatively in terms of problems, whether as causing problems of different types (in immigration, crime, employment, housing or welfare), or as having problems and in need of help. In this way, the media reproduce a dominant consensus, often pre-formulated by different political, social or academic elite, but also produce their own focused, stereotypical picture of minorities/foreigners, thereby contributing to and confirming the prevailing prejudices in society at large (Van Dijk, 1988a). According to Pillay (2008), anti-foreigner sentiments expressed uncritically in the media or through official channels can however contribute indirectly to the creation of an enabling environment within which anti-foreigner sentiments/attacks can flourish in the popular discourse.

8. Conclusion

South Africa has been shaped and reshaped by the influx of people from different countries of the world. Since 1994 with the opening of the South African borders, there has been a mass drift of people from different countries to all the cities in South Africa, including the townships. These movements lead to contacts between people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds and a need for them to communicate, live and work together. However, there is need for tolerance among different groups. On the issue of language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments, the study investigated the words used to refer to foreigners and if such words contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa generally and particularly in Bloemfontein. The study reveals both positive and negative words used to refer to foreigners. Sesotho have seven words used to refer to foreigners, namely “*lekwerekwere/makwerekwere*”, “*magrigamba*”, “*mazwanzwiri*”, “*lekomfere*”, “*siya thengisa*”, “*bokokgotsi*”, and “*matswantle*”. Among all these words, only two: “*bokokgotsi*” and “*matswantle*” are not used negatively. The majority of the participants ascertained that these words used

to refer to foreigners do not contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa, but the words show that South Africans have some negativity towards the foreigners. The most important reasons behind the prevalence of xenophobia in South Africa are the feelings that foreigners are competing with South Africans with limited resources, theft, poverty, drugs related crimes, prostitution and human trafficking. The findings which support the earlier study conducted by Pillay (2008). The government faces a pressing need to find a way for citizens and foreigners to live peaceably together and to tackle the problems associated with xenophobia. Perhaps the most important point to realise is that these misguided feelings of hatred, bitterness and resentment are based solely on the perception of economic hardship and scramble for limited resources. Enlightenment programmes should be organised on the need for foreigners and their status in the country. In other words, the primary focus for the government must be education and to correct misperceptions about the foreign nationals.

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The Fall of Muammar Gaddafi and the Contemporary Security Debacle in West Africa: An Examination of Interconnectedness

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Abstract. West Africa is a home of seventeen countries which are divided by colonial alienation. The region has three principal divisions i.e. Luzophone, Francophone and Anglophone and this imperial division dictates the direction of social and political events in the region. In terms of security architecture, the region is one of the most volatile areas of the international security concerns; and such security is dictated by exogenous issues. One of these exogenous issues is the fall of Gaddafi's Libya in 2011 and the attendant itinerant soldiers in the Sahel region of West Africa. Thus, this research examines the connection between the fall of Libya and the contemporary security challenges in the West Africa sub region. It seeks to discuss the role of Sahel region's seeming anarchical situation with the current security complications in West Africa sub region. In conducting this research, the theoretical precept of Regional Security Complex (RSCT) is employed to unravel the interconnectedness of the insecurity wave in the region. In addition, the research employed the use of latent content analysis to mine data from relevant sources.

Keywords: Security, Sahel, Libya, West Africa, Muammar Gaddafi

1. Introduction

The sub-region known as West Africa today is a continuum of spatial expanse of African plate. The division of Africa into sub-regional entity is an imperialistic ambition as there is no serious geographical obstacle that limits the mobility of people within the continent. With the exception of Sahara Desert, the largest of its kind in the world, which poses serious challenges to the movement of people from the southern part to the Mediterranean world, Africa had always been a singular entity before the introduction of colonialism. Dividing the continent along this line was a convenient mechanism

on the part of Europeans to map out strategy to dominate the entire continent. In this case West Africa is designed rigidly to include seventeen countries with the exception of Cameroon, Central African Republic, and Gabon, most of which share the same affinity with West African states. In this scenario, the so-called West Africa sub-region is a colonial design to perpetuate their hegemony within the regional space. Today, Spanish, Portuguese, French and British cultural milieu dominate the socio-political terrain with attendant serious structural deficiencies for meaningful development. The manner with which the region is designed makes it susceptible to the intricacies of international security outfits. The West Africa region by design shares borders with Horn of Africa (the haven of Al-Shabab Terror Group), North Africa (the region with many terror groups sourcing for hideouts elsewhere) and Gulf of Guinea, the haven of pirates. With this in view, it is expected that the region is open to all security complications in Africa. Worse still, the Sahel region, which is shared between West, North and East Africa is particularly an anarchical atmosphere where states are incapacitated to maintain law and order (Alfred, 2020). It needs to be stressed here that most states that are located in the West Africa region are structurally weak to contain exogenous security issues. This is particularly true of Niger Republic, Chad Republic, South Sudan, Burkina Faso, Mali and Mauritania. Of all states in West Africa, only few like Nigeria, Senegal, Ghana and Ivory Coast have routine security architecture to respond to issues outside their borders (Bach, 2007; Hamman & Omojuwa, 2013). Most countries in the Sahel parts of West Africa are very weak and fragile to confront marauding bandits and terror groups coming to the region through their territories. This is particularly true of Mali, Niger Republic and Chad Republic who are at the frontier section of the region (Hagberg & Körling, 2012). They serve as connecting link between Northern and western part of

Africa. Besides, they also link to the Horn of Africa which is another strategic area where West Africa receives unwarranted drifts of bandits and terror groups. The weakness of these frontier West African states aptly captures the connection between the fall of Libya and the contemporary security debacle in the West African sub-region. The question now is: How are these states affect the security dimension of West Africa sub-region? This question guides the focus of this research. Thus, this research is divided into sections. The first section provides background introduction to the research. The second section connects the research with the theoretical precept of regional security complex while section three discusses Sahel and Sahara region during the time of Muammar Gaddafi. The fourth section discusses the collapse of Libya regime and Security issues in West Africa, most especially the Tuareg uprising in Mali. The last section concludes the research and provides useful alternatives to guarantee the territorial integrity of states in the sub regional space.

2. Regional Security complex theory (RSCT) and West Africa

The RSCT is a form of subaltern security discussion in the global security architecture. During the Cold War global system, the global structure was the predominant approach adopted in security studies (Ayoob, 1991:259). As a sub-system, region has become a useful mechanism in defining the contemporary international security which is seen as a step towards achieving global peace and security. The importance of regions as the basic unit of security analysis appeared in the 1970s when some states were coerced into the Cold War rivalries between the two superpowers. The only unified mechanism adopted then was non-aligned movement, which most developing countries adopted in resisting the Cold War influence (Ayoob, 1995).

Thus, some regional organizations were formed in the heydays of Cold War, which tried to curb the incidence of local rivalries within regions. Association of South East Asia Nations (ASEAN), Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Economic community of West African states (ECOWAS) and Organization of American States (OAS) were formed during this period. The focus of RSCT is that states who share the same borders are normally locked in a security dilemma. In terms of definition, RSCT is regarded as a situation whereby "local sets of states exist whose major security perceptions and concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national security perceptions cannot realistically be considered apart from one another" (Buzan, 1986: 8).

The theory posits that the security of states within a region or sub-region is defined by the geographical contiguity. It maintains that the security and safety of each state within a region cannot be isolated from the happenings in the neighbouring states. The focus of the theory therefore rests on the basic assumption of the need to ensure that the regional security is collectively pursued by states that make a regional security complex. There are basic features defining the RSCT. These are anarchy, geographical proximity, interdependence and rivalry, and independence (Lake and Morgan, 1997:11).

The RSCT is defined in terms of anarchy, which pervades the sub-regional political structure of the region (Adler & Barnnet, 1996:65). The states that make up the regional system are locked up into regional security, which they cannot extricate from. In this process of anarchy, it may be possible to contrive a regional mechanism to address such security complex, which may be "standard or centred" (Buzan & Weaver, 2011). Regional security complex is standard when the region is bipolar or multipolar in nature while the centred regional security is a unipolar system. The conception of RSCT is that regions are anarchical in nature, characterized by rivalries among contiguous states. RSCT also relies on the geographical proximity of states within a certain region (Buzan, 1986). It posits that states within a certain geographical setting with shared boundaries are inextricably locked together in terms of security. The position is that for the theory to hold, two or more states must share geographical proximity which may makes it difficult for each other to escape from the security threat of the adjacent states (Nwokedi, 1985:198). RSCT is also characterized by interdependence and rivalry among the constituted states. The regional arrangement renders the need for interdependence in some areas inevitable while in some cases states may engage in rivalries in terms of dominating the regional complex. According to Buzan (2003) "the nature of security interdependence, national threat perceptions, and quest for autonomy are some of the crucial factors affecting the prospect for collaboration within regional security complexes". This theory aptly captures the current situation in West Africa subregion. The security of the entire region is inextricably connected that what affects a state in the region will resonate immediately to other parts. This explains the movement of marauding bandits and terror groups in the region. The case of Boko Haram terror group is particularly important here. Boko Haram terror group started its local operation in the Northeastern part of Nigeria with no indication of having any branch outside the shore of Nigeria.

Today, the Central African Republic, Niger, Cameroon, Chad and Mali are suffering from the scourge of the terror group. This is possible because of geographical contiguity as advertised by RSCT. Again, in 2011, the Tuareg group in Northern Mali became a formidable terror group that terrorized the Sahel region of West Africa. Their operation was initially limited to Northern Mali which later extended to neighbouring territories of Burkina Faso, Niger and Senegal. The RSCT states that the regional and sub-regional spaces security architecture is connected and such demands the cooperation of all states within a regional space. But the case of West Africa is quite different. As opined by the theory, the security architecture of West Africa sub-region is centred as it is dominated by Nigeria. But the picture is more complex than being centred. As explained above, the theory guides the conduct of the research and it unravels how the security architecture in West Africa is interlinked.

3. West Africa's Sahel region during Qaddafi Era

The competition for political space in the south of Sahara desert started apace in the 1960s (Ate, 2011). Most Maghreb states at the time were interested in Niger, Mauritania, Chad and Mali (Virginie, Amal, & Dylan, 2021). There was stiff competition for allies particularly among Morocco, Algeria and Libya. It needs to be stressed here that there was no serious formal economic relationship between the Sahel region and the countries in the Maghreb. What was obtainable in the 1960s was skeletal transaction along the Sahara zone by private individuals, most importantly the Tuaregs in Northern Mali and Niger with Maghreb states (Thurston & Lebovich, 2018)

One of the most prosperous states in the Maghreb region is Libya under the over-ambitious leadership of Muammar Gaddafi. Libya's foreign policy under Gaddafi was based on its own unique brand of pan-Africanism and socialism. Under the regime of Gaddafi, its political role was coupled with massive economic and financial investments in West African and Sahelian states (Boas & Utas, 2013). However, Libya's attempts to reinforce the position of Africa at the international level was closely associated with its frequent interference in the internal affairs of neighbours and its contribution to instability through its support of rebel movements. The functional relationship between Libya under Gaddafi and Sahel region of West Africa could be dated to 1960s. Because of the nature of the Sahel region which is prone to drought, famine and encroaching desertification, most Tuaregs are prone to economic malaise which has eventually led to frustration on

several occasions. Such frustration has led some Tuaregs to believe that government has completely neglected them to fend for their survival (Bencherif & Campana, 2016). Such position endeared some Tuaregs to abandon their traditional system of rearing livestock, pastoralism. In this quest some of them migrated to Libya from various countries of West Africa, most importantly Niger, Mali and Mauritania.

The Libya's large hydrocarbon revenues meant that the state could provide financial assistance to its Sahel neighbours and use its many sovereign funds and investment portfolios to finance infrastructure projects and other economic ventures in various sector. The engagement of Gaddafi's Libya with its Sahel neighbours was volatile and ambiguous. It was part of a wider foreign policy towards the African continent based on Gaddafi's long-standing ambition to unify African countries under his leadership. The establishment in 1998 of the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)—a regional integration framework that initially brought together Burkina Faso, Chad, Libya, Mali, Niger and Sudan—was largely the result of Gaddafi's efforts (Ben Yahia, 2019). Spearheaded by Libya, where its headquarters are located, CEN-SAD supported programmes focused on food security, environmental protection and rural development in Sahel countries. Since many of these programmes were financed by Libya, CEN-SAD largely served to increase Libya's influence in the Sahel. Gaddafi also played an important role in the creation in 2000 of the African Union (AU), although his original plan was to create and lead a highly integrated 'United States of Africa' (Huliaras & Magliveras, 2011). Libya acted as a driving force of the organization, contributing to its institutional development, pushing for greater integration and providing it with financial resources.

However, there are two sides to the influence of Libya under Gaddafi in the Sahel: at times it contributed to destabilizing its southern neighbors, while at other times it played a prominent role in mediating Sahel conflicts. Perhaps the most conspicuous example of this ambivalent disposition was Gaddafi's interference in Chad, where he played an important role in peace negotiations between the government and the opposition from 2003 despite Libya's repeated military interventions in Chad in the 1980s and its plans to annex parts of northern Chad (Sesay, 1998). Even though Libya was widely suspected of stirring up trouble and supporting the rebels, including during the 2006–2009 Tuareg rebellion, Gaddafi helped broker a peace agreement between the Tuareg rebels and the Nigerien and the Malian governments in 2009 (Molenaar, 2018). The

Libyan-sponsored peace agreement brought an end to the fighting between the Nigerien Government and the Nigerien Movement for Justice (Mouvement des Nigériens pour la justice, MNJ), created in 2007, and between the governments of Mali and Niger and the Malian Democratic Alliance of 23 May 2006 for Change (Alliance démocratique du 23 Mai 2006 pour le changement, ADC) (Alexander, 2014). Under this agreement, the Nigerien Government granted amnesty to Tuareg rebels on the condition that they disarmed. The Tuareg leaders largely accepted the deals brokered by Gaddafi. Nigerien presidents Mamadou Tandja (1999–2010) and Mahamadou Issoufou (2011–21) also demonstrated the willingness of the state to integrate members of the Tuareg communities. These include Rhissa ag Boula, a former rebel who has occupied several political functions since 1997 included as presidential adviser to President Issoufou, and Brigi Rafini, who has been prime minister since 2011 (Cold-Ravnkilde, 2013). In contrast, the Malian Government continued to rely primarily on security-based approaches without making any significant progress in the implementation of peace agreements.

It should be noted that the close relations between Gaddafi's Libya and the Tuareg of Mali and Niger have constituted a factor of both stability and instability in the Sahel region. In Libya, the Tuareg not only cultivated nationalist and revolutionary ambitions, but they also acquired military training and experience. The conditions of their return to their countries of origin exacerbated existing tensions with the central governments of Mali and Niger. While the Nigerien Government encouraged Tuareg to return to Niger in 1989, they eventually ended up in refugee camps, living in difficult conditions (Haysom, 2014). This aggravated discontent and created conditions for instability and revolt. Whereas contacts between the different Tuareg communities were limited before 1980, exile has reinforced a strong feeling of injustice, and exclusion from their respective states has strengthened community sentiment based on a common language and social ties. In the early 1990s, rebellions in Mali and Niger were triggered in part by the precarious economic and social situation and the return and marginalization of exiles from Algeria and Libya, some of whom had served in Gaddafi's Islamic Legion (Lee, 2014). Unresolved problems and intra-Tuareg tensions resulted in the resumption of violence and the eruption of the third Tuareg rebellion of 2006–2009 in Niger and Mali. The fragility of political and social reconciliation with Tuareg in Niger and Mali continued until the collapse of Libyan regime under Muammar Gaddafi. Such fragility came to the fore which further worsened the security situation in the Sahel region. Tuareg

migrants from Libya dispersed all over Sahelian part of Africa and constitute a threat to most states in West Africa. In this scenario, Nigeria, Chad, Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Senegal suffered the worst terror attacks believed to have connection with the marauding Tuareg in the Sahel part of West Africa.

4. The Collapse of Libyan Regime and West Africa Security Concerns

The collapse of the regime of Qaddafi in mid-2011 has catastrophic consequences for the West African states south of Sahara, most importantly Mali, Niger, Chad, and Nigeria. The Libyan civil war led to the return of thousands of armed and unarmed Tuareg to the extreme North of Mali (Human Rights Watch, 2020). This also included members of armed radical groups such as Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM) and Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJWA) which added to the poor living condition of the northerners compared to the Southerners. Though, the Third Touareg Rebellion officially came to an end in 2009, Ibrahim Ag Bahanga and his followers had refused to abide by the peace accords which led to taking shelter in Libya under the protection of Gaddafi (Ben Yahia, 2019). Bahanga is believed to have involved in the illegal arms trade looted from Libya after Gaddafi's demise. Thus, they came in contact with other veterans of the 1990 rebellion who neglected the adoption of the National Pact and joined the special elite units of the Libyan Army, Col. Ag Najim included. Since the arrival of Bahanga in Libya early in 2009, he began convincing Ag Najim and other Tuareg in the Libyan armed forces to think of the establishment of an independent Tuareg state in Northern Mali and Niger as the relationship between Gaddafi and the Touaregs did not base on ideological devotion, but rather self-serving and opportunistic (Molenaar, 2018).

It should be noted that Bahanga was not the only Tuareg committed and hoping to initiate uprising in northern Mali. In November 2010, a meeting, largely attended by northern Tuareg was organized in Timbuktu and ends with the creation of National Movement of Azawad (NMA) which primarily rejected violence but called for display of solidarity from Azawadians inside Mali and beyond the country's borders (Heisbourg, (2013). NMA was a clear political organization whose core objective was to obtain independence for northern Mali called Azawad. Moreover, MNA presented itself as a political movement of Azawad which had to defend and promote policy specified to achieving the legitimate objectives and claiming all the historical rights of the deprived people of Azawad. This

movement is dominated by Tuareg and as of 2011, played significant role in northern Mali uprising. This eventually led to near-state collapse in Mali in 2011.

Besides this seeming dissatisfaction of Tuareg with Governments of Mali and Niger, the death of Gaddafi shifted the position of most Tuareg to becoming middlemen in the illegal arms trafficking across the Sahara to West African states. Such activity led to the illegal movement of small and light weapons across the Sahara which landed in the hands of various terror groups like Boko Haram, AQIM and Tuareg rebels. The contemporary proliferation of Bandits and similar armed groups in Northern Nigeria, Mali, and Niger is reminiscent of the collapse of order in the Sahel region, which is worsened by the state collapse in Libya. The Gaddafi regime by proxy had been the core actor maintaining order in the anarchical part of Sahel and Sahara parts of Africa. Such order maintenance collapsed as soon as Gaddafi regime faded away. In a way, the worsening security situation in the contemporary West African region has its link with the collapse of Libyan regime.

Boko Haram, an Islamic terrorist group operating mainly in Nigeria, Chad, and Cameroon is believed to have links to AQIM and reportedly also obtained weapons from Libya. According to a UN report, some governments believe that Boko Haram is also active in Niger and its militants from Nigeria and Chad were trained in AQIM camps in Mali in 2011 (Huckabey, (2013). Former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo said that the toppling of the long-time Libyan dictator, the events in Mali and the US consulate attacks in Libya are all interlinked and added that the Libyan civil war produced many uncontrolled trained and armed militants who continue to fuel violence in the region, including the atrocities committed by Boko Haram in Nigeria (Onojeghen, 2019)

In August 2012, Minister of State for Defence, Mrs. Olusola Obada confirmed speculations that Libyan weapons had found their way into Nigeria. She said that some of the looted weapons, including surface-to-air missiles, were transported to Nigeria and thought to be included in Boko Haram's stockpiles (Eray, 2012). The government of Nigeria blamed Libya for empowering Boko Haram, saying that most of the group's weapons come from Libyan stockpiles. Abba Moro, the Nigerian Minister of Interior, said the "[g]overnment believes that part of the problems that we have today, the challenges of internal security stemmed from the activities in Libya" (Owete, 2013). The Minister further lamented that "It is indeed an open secret that even though, we did not share

common border with Libya, arms and weapons have found their ways into Nigeria from that North African country" (Owete, 2013). Such declaration from governmental quarters points to the frustration of Nigerian government on the issue. In this case Sahel region has been a transit point in the illegal arms trade and movement to all parts of West Africa.

5. Conclusion

The fall of Gaddafi not only resulted in the return south of heavily equipped and well-trained Tuareg ex-combatants from their Libyan exile but has also deprived West African countries of important economic resources through the Libyan Investment Authority (e.g. interest-free loans to Niger). The collapse of the state and the civil war in Libya have debilitated a once pivotal and influential actor in the region. This has left Algeria and Morocco rivalling each other as regional powers, mobilizing their respective diplomatic, political and economic resources to exert influence in the Sahel. While Morocco has increased its religious and economic reach into Sahel countries through investments in a variety of sectors. The fall of the Libyan leader and the collapse of the state in 2011 deprived the Tuareg of protection and of important economic support. The Tuareg's association with Gaddafi's regime meant that they became frequent targets when his regime collapsed. The dynamics of this unrest have been largely reminiscent of the 1990s rebellions in that former Tuareg fighters left Libya for Mali and Niger, bringing with them weapons and arms from Libya's stockpile that triggered another round of violence in the Sahel. Such Tuareg debacle has radiated to other parts of West Africa as weapons looted from Libya military arsenal proliferated West Africa's political and social space. Many bandits and terror groups have unprecedented access to arms and weapons; a situation that has worsened the security complications in the region. As theory of RSCT postulates, the possible way to mitigate the effect of Libya's collapse on West Africa region is through multilateral approach. Although, ECOWAS intervened in Tuareg uprising in 2012 but there is need for proactive and consistent policy direction on the part of UNO, AU, ECOWAS and other concerned multilateral agencies. The region needs consistent actor that will rescue it from the imminent total collapse. The region, as discussed in the theoretical section, is a centred political domain; dominated by Nigeria. Nigeria as a state is not well equipped to respond to the need of countries in the Sahel as it battles on all fronts the menace of bandits and terrorists in its border. The credible lasting solution to the impending anarchical situation in the Sahel space

of West Africa is through forceful multilateral efforts backed by strong political will.

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Part Three

Educational Management



Assessing Information Dissemination Channels as Valuable Tools for Educational Development in Nigeria

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Abstract. Information is a vital tool for the development of education in any society. This paper looked into the meaning of information, information dissemination and the different channels of information dissemination such as Information Communication Technology (ICT), training and professional preparatory programmes, mass media, conferences/workshops/seminars and its role to educational development in Nigeria. It also discusses the importance of educational development to national development. Some constraints of informational dissemination channels and recommendations stated. The value of education is underlined by the fact that each society establishes an educational system designed to serve its present and future needs. Education serves as an instrument for stability, change and renewal. Thus, the transmission of knowledge, skills and values is basic and information dissemination has been the key to achieving these laudable goals.

1. Introduction

It is important that any communication strategy should be based on the communication processes, techniques and channels that are most appropriate for specific audiences. Different communication processes and channels will reach different or specific targets depending on the social, economic, political, educational context and will have a different impact on achieving both short-time and long-term goals. Disseminating the right information through the right channels lead to effective achievement of its purpose to be accomplished. Information sharing in education is as vital as education itself, this is because no any educational process could be achieved without proper dissemination of the right information with all its

expected aims and objectives. There would hardly be any educational development without the exchange of information from one ends to the other.

Information: Information is any message or news, viewed or read or told verbally which add to knowledge, awareness or understanding of some topics, or events problems that prepares you for uncertainty of life. Gilbert and Watteville in Omogor (2013) opined that information is whatever is capable of causing a human mind to change its opinion about the current state of real world. Therefore, information and information dissemination is imperative to the socio-economic and educational development of any nation.

Education: Generally speaking, education is said to be the life wire for socio-economic development of any society. As Kalusi (2001) sees education as “a chain of activities that is geared towards the development of desirable qualities- critical thinking, respect, integrity of character, being creative, acquisition of skills, tolerance and open-mindedness-in a person”. The highest goal of education is man's search for himself in a constantly changing world where he is compelled to make choices that affect his environment. Education brings about the overall development of a person which invariably leads to national development because no nation rises above its citizens and education.

2. Information Dissemination

Information dissemination is the transfer of information from person to person or from one place to another. Omogor (2013) posited that “information delivery is not a one way affair. There must be a sender to transmit the message, and a receiver to

make appropriate decisions. These involved the exchange of ideas, facts, opinion, attitudes and beliefs between people". There is, therefore, no other way to understand the process of change without considering information dissemination.

The term "dissemination" has become a familiar part of our vocabulary within higher education and it is easy, therefore, to talk about doing it without having a real grasp of what it means, "to disseminate" or what it is you are trying to achieve by doing it. There will be a number of groups/audiences that you will need to target directly with your dissemination. This will be because you believe that they can benefit from what your message has to convey. As Granga and White (2001) see success in dissemination as more likely to occur when the packaging and overall nature of the information has been influenced by appropriate input from the potential recipient/user audience. Dissemination should produce an effect- use of the information- on the part of the recipient. It will be important therefore, that these groups/audiences have a deeper understanding of your intention or message. An information dissemination channel must therefore, be credible to recipients if it is to be utilized and have an impact upon them.

3. Information Dissemination Channels

3.1 Information Communication Technology

Information and Communication Technology (ICT) plays an increasingly important role in the way we communicate, learn and live. ICT are electronic technologies used for information storage and retrieval. Development is partly determined by the ability to establish a synergistic interaction between technological innovation and human values. The rapid rate at which ICTs have evolved since the mid-20th century, the convergence and pervasiveness of ICTs, give a strong role in development and globalization (Nwagwu in Adomi and Kpangban, 2010). ICTs have a significant impact on all areas of human activity. In a rapidly changing world, basic education is essential for an individual to be able to access and apply information... the ability to access and use information is no longer a luxury, but a necessity for development. (Adomi and Kpangban, 2010).

Kaka (2008) observed that the field of education has been affected by ICTs, which have undoubtedly affected teaching, learning, and research. ICTs have the potential to accelerate, enrich, and deepen skills, to motivate and engage students, to help relate school

experience to work practices, create economic viability for tomorrow's workers, as well as strengthening teaching and helping schools change. New instructional techniques that use ICTs provide a different modality of instruments. For the student, ICT use allows for increased individualization of learning. In schools where new technologies are used, students have access to tools that adjust to their attention span and provide valuable and immediate feedback for literacy enhancement, which is currently not fully implemented in the Nigerian school system (Adomi and Kpangban, 2010). The challenge is to effectively harness these technologies in a way that serves the interests of learners and the larger teaching/learning community. As UNESCO (n.d) considers that ICTs can contribute to universal access to education, equity in education, the delivery of quality learning and teaching, teachers' professional development as well as improve education management, governance and administration provided the right mix of policies, technologies and capacities are in place.

3.2 Conferences Workshops Seminars

Conferences, seminars and workshops are avenues where intellectual ideas are often shared in order to salvage any prevailing circumstance. Takayama in Edwanis (n.d.) says that conferences and conference proceedings are more timely means of information transfer than publications. Conferences generally precede the publication. They supplement pre-service and in-service educational efforts. Informal as well as formal information exchange marks this dissemination strategy where experts and non-experts come together to exchange information in order to improve educational service delivery or taking decision that may need urgent attention. This serves as a conduit for robust and effective information dissemination for educational development.

3.3 Training and Professional Preparation Programs

Training and educational programs have been a significant dissemination strategy. These include pre-service and in-service. Pre-service educational programs are also referred to as professional preparation programs. In-service refers to education provided on the job in the form of induction training, apprenticeships, and short-term workshops or courses. Both offer vehicles for getting new knowledge into practice.

Professional preparation programs are a major vehicle over time for knowledge dissemination. Such

programs include, but are not limited to, lectures, labs, discussions, and practicum. In education programmes like teaching practice, industrial attachments, and practicum provide field experience which invariably improves the educational system both prospects and practice.

3.4 Mass Media

Media is known to be the most powerful mean of information dissemination. The print media, electronic media and the internet are all the subsets of mass media. According to Mcluban (2013) sees mass media as "the means of communication that reach large number of people in shorttime". The mass media therefore, provide indirect, one-way communication and include community, national and international radio and television as well as newspapers, magazines, comic books, cinema or other situations where a large number of people can be reached with information without personal contact. Mass media is an effective way of communicating with people living in different parts of the world. The birth of media has put a new look on education and has affected Nigerian educational landscape. Ema and Ajayi (2006) stipulated that television is primarily an instructional tool that has a very wide and continuously fast growing audience. That television by its nature of combining pictures and sound possesses a very powerful influence in providing actual information in that the learner will understand and appreciate. Radio can also be used in teaching to a great advantage in the transmission of knowledge due to its wider coverage and the affordability by the users.

There exist also some media channels known as the small media. The small media are often tools used to support larger communication initiatives or to illustrate interpersonal communication. They include posters, cassettes, leaflets, brochures, slide sets, video, flipcharts and flash cards. All these help in no small measure in the business of education as process and also as a system. Mass media helps speed the process of acculturation by making available to diverse audiences the opportunities for simultaneous exposure to a given event, story or kind of information (Edwards, n.d).

Books are also parts of the printed media provide wide range of information covering almost all issues in the world. Books are more permanent but less timely than other print media. They are more personal and more respected. They have a higher rule of reusability.

While books at one point in history were written for a more literate or elite audience, today's books appeal to the less literate. As a tool for disseminating information about new research or technology, books contribute to the enlightenment models of utilization or the spread effect. Production schedules, display practices, and marketability factor into decisions on whether to communicate new research via books.

4. The Impact of Information Dissemination and Educational Development on National Development

Education hitherto remains the gateway to knowledge and ultimate to power. Every industrialised nation of the world attained that status only by tapping into the tremendous power of education in their march towards attainment of national objectives. Adewole (2000) maintains that in order to achieve a full realisation of the potentials of the new heritage embedded in thought of scholars, and only on paper policy document the need for a willingness to respect their thoughts as well as the political will to implement laudable policy objectives cannot be overemphasised. Information dissemination has played and is still playing an important role in the development of education in Nigeria while education remains a remedy for healing the nation's wounds as we march through the decades of national problems.

Education in Nigeria is seen as unifying factor to the heterogeneous nature of the country considering the diverse culture, beliefs, customs, tradition, tribes and religion. It is through education that we have been able to arm ourselves with our diversity which has ultimately given birth to our unity. The establishment of unity schools, federal polytechnics, federal colleges of education, universities have been of immense contribution to national development because these institutions of learning have served and still serving as rallying point of our togetherness through information sharing.

Educational system in Nigeria is more or less elaborate social mechanism designed to bring about in the persons submitted to it skills and attitudes that are judged to be useful and desirable to the nation. The value of education is underlined by the fact that each society establishes an educational system designed to serve its present and future needs: that is to say, to serve as an instrument for stability on one hand and, on the other, as an instrument for change and renewal. Thus, in every such system the transmission of knowledge, skills and values is basic and information dissemination has been the key to achieving these laudable goals.

5. Constraints of Information Dissemination Channels on Educational Development

Despite the role of information dissemination channels play on education development, it faced with challenges which are identified below:

- Low interest by government in establishing an educational system designed to serve its present and future needs in terms of information dissemination.
- Inadequate provision of information dissemination facilities by the government.
- High Cost of Information dissemination facilities: An obvious barrier is cost, especially in providing facilities to educational institutions and others with often very restricted funding.
- Information gathering and dissemination is marred by lots of barriers such as political interference.

6. Recommendations

Based on the constraints of information dissemination channels as valuable tools for educational development aforementioned, the recommendations are stated below:

- Since solid educational system aid in information and dissemination, each society should be encouraged to establish an educational system designed to serve its present and future needs.
- Government should adequately fund the educational sector. This will aid in improving the channels of information dissemination for educational development.
- Since information dissemination serves as a unifying factor to the heterogeneous nature of the country, all barriers to effective information gathering and dissemination should be eliminated.
- Bearing in mind the significance of information dissemination and to achieve the desired results in the educational development, the sources that provide for the flow of information should not be monopolized and politicized.

7. Conclusion

Generally, it is believed that information is power. It is obvious from contributions of various authors that there are different channels of information dissemination for educational development in Nigeria. No nation of the world can thrive without viable education and invariably no education can be

considered relevant without the proper dissemination of the needed information. For information to achieve the desired results in the educational development, the sources that provide for the flow of information should not be monopolized and politicized.

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Entrepreneurship Education and New Media in Nigeria

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Abstract. The focus of the paper was on the relevance of informal education to entrepreneurship education. In doing this, the paper examined the prospects of new media as an informal tool, for the acquisition of entrepreneurship education and training. The intention of this paper was not to quantify the population of students that were internet or new media compliant but the quality of which the sample that were users put it into use. To achieve this, a study was conducted on One Hundred Final Year Higher National Diploma (HND II) students of Lagos State Polytechnic, to determine how new media has impacted on them in the process of acquiring entrepreneurship education and training, and to examine the prospect of adopting new media as an instrument for propagating entrepreneurship education. The findings showed that new media had not contributed significantly to this process. However, majority of the respondents agreed and also the hypothesis confirmed that new media has the potential to impact positively in their quest for entrepreneurship education and training. Some of the suggestions offered include government intervention, guidance by the volunteer groups and social media groups. If considered, it would accelerate positive engagement of new media.

Keywords: Entrepreneurship, Education, New media, Innovation, Agenda-setting.

1. Introduction

Educational method is either formal (institutionalized) or informal (participatory); but the goals of both is to facilitate acquisition of basic values and skills necessary for the transformation of individuals in the society. We can adduce rightly that inappropriate or wrong education largely responsible for the avoidable level of youth unemployment in Nigeria and the quest to arrest the consequence of

this policy failure prompted the government to embellish the school curriculum with different subjects and courses in entrepreneurship education and training. But one thing is clear; this effort is driven by formal educational sector. For instance, at the polytechnic level, three different courses in entrepreneurship education were introduced by the Nigeria National Board for Technical Education (NBTE) namely- EED 126 (Introduction to Entrepreneurship Development for NDI /100 level students); EED 216 (Practice of Entrepreneurship for ND II /200 level students); EED 412 (Entrepreneurship Development for HND II /400 students). All the courses have both theory and practical components. However, the fact that these courses are not core courses imposes a limitation on the coverage of entrepreneurship issues and prominence accorded the training by the students. Also, paucity of funds and underfunding of education is another limitation on the capacity of various institutions to execute meaningful entrepreneurship training on their students. In order to ameliorate these deficiencies, governments at the various levels and private organizations offered post school or graduate entrepreneurship education and training as addition to what were offered formally through teaching while they were in school. Definitely, other areas and platforms have to be explored to expand the scope of entrepreneurship education and training in Nigeria. . Ngonso (2019) agrees that as much as the use of internet is beneficial to students and the youths, its prolonged use and addiction is detrimental to their welfare. Without prejudice to efforts and studies by others in this direction, this paper, due to wide spread influence of internet nowadays, examines the prospects of exploring new media as an informal platform for continuing education to expand the acquisition of entrepreneurship education and training. To do justice to this, the paper is structured as follows: theoretical framework; conceptual

explanations; research methodology, findings and observations, conclusion and, references.

2. Theoretical Explanation

Media theory deals with the study of technologies and technique of representation and communication. There are many theories of media. Bolter (n.d) classifies these theories generally into two; formal media theory and critical theory.

Formal theory relates to technological determinism. The use or significance of media depends on its formal properties. On the other hand, critical theories are ideological critique, explored to examine the ideological determinant of media. The aim of this is to expose how dominant ideologies determine the purposes and messages of media.

However, though there are many theories on media but more specifically for this study, two theories would assist. They are Uses and Gratifications model and Agenda-setting theories.

Uses and Gratifications model according to Katz, Blumler, Michael (1973) emphasize the significance of what individuals do with media rather than what media offers. It is audience centered approach to the study of reasons for adoption and usage of media. Reasons and goals for adoption of media differ among individuals. The audiences are the active consumers in their preferred media, motivated by their needs and priorities. The audience value judgment and agenda determines what uses media can be to the people. According to them the uses include; information gathering, molding personal identity, and as a tool for social interaction. On the other hand, Agenda- setting theory examines the importance of media in influencing salience of media as propagated by McCombs and Shaw (1972). It is based on the assumption that the more frequent or prominent particular news or issue, the more the audience or public identify it as important (Flew, 2008). Also, instead of representing reality, media shapes the reality. Instead of asserting an opinion, the media set what to form opinion on by the public. Agenda setting is a product of cognitive process referred to as accessibility (Lang & Lang, 1981) meaning; the degree of frequency and prominence of issues in media determines the accessibility of the issue in audience's memory.

Rogers and Dearing (1988) identify three types of agenda setting which are; public agenda setting in which the dependent variable is the public's agenda; the media agenda setting in which its dependent variable is the media's agenda; and lastly the policy

agenda setting in which the dependent variable is elite policy makers (Rogers, 1983). Agenda setting can lead to agenda building, refers to as mutual influence between the mass media and society and consequently on public policy (Lang & Lang, 1981). Setting an agenda implies the transformation of media agenda to public agenda (Berkowitz, 1992).

Furthermore in this internet era, agenda setting theory leads to agenda-melding which explains interconnection between the agenda of individuals and their group affliction. The basis for membership of a group is acceptance of the agenda of the group, but later, one can influence the group agenda with his own agenda (Bolter, n.d).

3. Conceptual Explanation

3.1 New Media

There are divergent views on what the concept of new media depicts among the scholars. Some scholars describe it by enumerating its technologies like, DVD-video, DV editing, web application etc. Others emphasize its interactive features, while others see it as categories of tool that entail digital media. Vangie, (n.d) describes new media as output generated through various electronic communication channels with the aid of computer technology. It is a product and service that can generate information or entertainment with the aid of computers or the internet. (dictionary.cambridge.org). It is a general term for various electronic communications. (searchson.techtarget.com). Manovich (2003) gave eight different views to clarify the concept of new media. They are:

- New media entails cultural objects and paradigms as opposed to Cyber culture which entails social ideas and phenomena found in network communications like blogs etc.
- New media is a digital computer technology used in facilitating distribution and exhibition e.g internet.
- New media represent digital data with operational software.
- New media can also be seen as interaction between old and new cultural conventions by which data are represented, and manipulated.
- New Media is described as the aesthetics adduced to every new modern media and communication technology.
- New Media as a computer based facilitates high speed and faster execution of algorithms, introduction of new

representational technique and new forms of media art.

- New Media as Avant-Garde are modern ways of accessing and manipulating information. Also as a meta-media, it has to do with how quantity can transform to quality and modernist aesthetics transforming to postmodern aesthetics.
- New Media as execution of similar ideas in modern computing.

Characteristics of new media include; being interactive in nature, network base, compressible and manipulative. Example of new media include: internet, websites, computer media, video games, blogs, chatrooms, email, social media, mobile apps etc. The main distinction between new media and old media like films, paper publications, and television has to do with their ability to facilitate digital interaction through technologies (Manorich, 2003).

Nevman, in Manorich, (2003) asserts that, the new media would bridge the geographic distance, increase the volume of communication, and improve the speed, which makes it a better platform for interaction and interconnecting diverse forms of communication

3.2 Entrepreneurship Education

Entrepreneurship Education as a concept is made up of two words which are; entrepreneurship and education. According to Sobel (n.d), entrepreneurship refers to the process of discovering innovative ways of organizing resources. It can be describes as the capacity and willingness to develop, organize and manage a business with the limitation of risk for profit making (Business dictionary.com). It is the process of seeking opportunities in the market and organizing resources necessary to exploit the opportunity for profit (Ray, slideshare.net).

However, Education refers to the act or process of acquiring a specific knowledge or skill (dictionary.com) Education can be formal or informal. To formalists, education is about passing information and handing over of culture and civilization to new generations. Here teaching is central. The emphasis is on formation or development from without. On the other hand, informal education or to the progressive, education is about induction, initiation and involvement with cultural idea. It is formation or development within. (Thomas 2013: 25-26). Furthermore, entrepreneurship education represents the educational process meant to provide students with the

knowledge, skills and motivation to achieve entrepreneurial success (Wikipedia.org). It focuses on the acquisition of skills or attributes that can assist in making entrepreneurial decisions, like opening a new organization, developing new products, new services and new market.

Entrepreneurship Education in Nigeria according to Paul (2005) would achieve but not limited to the following:

- Provide a functional education that can motivate self-reliance.
- Offer training that can facilitate innovation and creativity.
- Enhance empowerment and reduce the level of poverty.
- Facilitate opportunity for employment.
- Discourage rural-urban influx.
- Promote small and medium scale enterprise.
- Accelerate economic growth and development.

4. Research Methodology

The assumption of this paper is that new media can offer a reliable opportunity to expand the acquisition of entrepreneurship education and training if the users are guided and encouraged. Therefore, the study is meant to determine the level and extent to which the users (students) explore the new media platform to broaden their entrepreneurship skills and orientations and to examine the possibility of adopting new media as medium for entrepreneurship education. The study population was HND II students of Lagos state Polytechnic and the research subjects were one hundred respondents. The research instruments used were questionnaires relevant to the assumptions and hypotheses. The modality adopted in generating the data was that one hundred and twenty questionnaires were distributed among the HND II students in the six faculties of the school (twenty copies per faculty) through convenient random sampling. This category had completed the mandatory three entrepreneurship courses mentioned earlier but expected to gain more through informal platforms for continue entrepreneurship education. The Heads of each class were used as research assistants in the distribution and collection of questionnaires with the instruction to administer the questionnaires only on those that are active on new media. One hundred and eight were returned, out of which one hundred carefully selected were the ones without any error and no any items on the questionnaire were omitted. The data collated were used to confirm both the null hypothesis (new media cannot impact positively on entrepreneurship

education) and the alternative hypothesis (new media can impact positively on entrepreneurship education). Both percentages and inferential statistics were used in data analysis.

5. Findings and Data Presentation

After the collation of the data, the findings are as follows:

Hypothesis testing

H₀: New media cannot impact positively on entrepreneurship education

O	E	(O-E)	(O-E) ²	(O-E) ² /E
8	20	-12	144	7.2
62	20	42	1764	88.2
4	20	-16	256	12.8
20	20	0	0	0
6	20	-14	196	9.8
100	100			118

$\chi^2_{cal} = 118$ and $\chi^2_{tab} = 9.49$
P-value=0.0000

Decision: Reject H₀ since Chi-square calculated (118) is greater than Chi-square tabulated (9.48) and conclude that New media can impact positively on entrepreneurship education at 5% level of significance.

This implies that we are 95% sure that new media can significantly impact on entrepreneurship education if properly planned.

6. Observations and Discussion

From the findings above, 84% understood the meaning of the new Media, while 4% are indifferent and 12% did not understand New Media. This is evidence that many Nigerian youths are exposed to new media tools. Also, 72% of the respondents often engage new media while 4% are indifferent and 24% usually do not engage new media. In addition, 100% of the respondents have good knowledge of entrepreneurship education. Since they are HND II students, they must have gone through the three mandatory entrepreneurship courses recommended by the National Board for Technical Education. However, 26% of respondents are receiving continue entrepreneurship education through New Media while 6% are indifferent and 68% have not received such education. It is evident that new media offered them opportunities for other engagements rather than acquisition of entrepreneurship education.

The findings of a sample survey study by Ngonso (2019) agrees that majority of teenagers and youths

H₁: New media can impact positively on entrepreneurship education

Level of significance, $\alpha = 0.05$ (i.e 5%)

Test Statistic: Chi-Square

Decision Rule: Reject H₀ if Chi-square calculated is greater than Chi-square tabulated

Computation of Test Statistic:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Where

O is the observed frequency

E is the expected frequency

have access to internet through their personal or parents phones, but rarely use it for academic purposes. Rather, most youths use the internet and social media to enhance their social lives. Furthermore, access to social media has also aided cheating during examinations and greatly hinders their learning and comprehension of teaching in class as they are easily distracted.

Ahmed and Farooq (2021) also investigated the side effects of access to social media on the youths. They argue that the risks of social media depend on how social media is used and the amount of time spent on social media. The paper also points out that distraction in class, sleep disruption, poor academic performance, poor mental health, cyber bullying, rumor spreading, peer pressure, depression, treats to moral conducts, and having unrealistic views of other people's lives are risks that might heighten; the more youths are addicted to social media.

Ironically, 70% of respondents agreed that new media tools have potential to enhance entrepreneurship education. This conclusion offers a prospect or possibility to explore positively the new media platform for the purpose of expanding entrepreneurship education and training. Ojeleye et al (2018) examined the impact of social media on entrepreneurship development among users in Zamfara State of Nigeria and posited that social media impact significantly on entrepreneurship development among users in Zamfara state of

Nigeria. The findings of the study pointed out that new media in terms of Facebook, WhatsApp and Instagram contribute significantly in realizing innovation and creativity among users in Zamfara State of Nigeria, while YouTube does not contribute to entrepreneurship development in terms of creativity and innovation among users in Zamfara State of Nigeria, as its users only concentrated on film, without considering the content and adoption for entrepreneurship development in the state in terms of developing products.

In the same vein, Ibitoye and Eze (2019) scrutinized the influence of social media on skill acquisition and Business Education students' Academic Performance in Colleges of Education in Enugu State, Nigeria. The findings equally showed that the use of social media has positively influenced skill acquisition and Business Education academic performance of students in Colleges of Education in the study area. The paper further points out that the advent of social media has modified the way students communicate, interact, and develop academic skills, knowledge and understanding.

Similarly, Binuyo et al (2020) focused on the effect of the social innovation dimensions on skill acquisition among university graduates in Nigeria. The findings of the analyses revealed that social innovation dimensions had a positive and significant effect on skill acquisition among University graduates in Nigeria. According to the paper, social innovation has emerged as a potentially sustainable solution to economic, educational and societal challenges that Nigerian graduates are confronting in the labour market.

Akintayo et al (2021) investigated the influence of YouTube videos on skills acquisition among undergraduates in three universities in Ogun state and his finding is not far from above. They assert that YouTube has emerged as a platform with several entrepreneurial opportunities for students and none students alike, who have creative minds. The findings of the paper however revealed that although the level of awareness and accessibility of the platform among the undergraduates was high, it has no significance on their level of skill acquisition. The respondents rather utilized the platform more for other purposes (mostly watching entertainment videos) rather than for skills acquisition.

Corroborating this finding, Hang and Weezel (n.d) not only assert that media impact on entrepreneurship but, that entrepreneurship also influences media. In their view, media efficiency not only depends on

special features of entrepreneurship like creativity, innovation and critical thinking, but also its impact through transmitting entrepreneurial thinking in the society.

In another study, Aniemeka (2013) adds that online social network has potential to impact on teaching in tertiary institution in Nigeria and being an innovative instructional tool, it can change the face of teaching, learning process and medium in Nigeria. This is not significantly different from the positions of Goel (2008) that social media has removed geographical barrier to networking and ease of doing business, which is a feature necessary for informal entrepreneurial education.

Abi-Aad (2015) stresses further that social entrepreneurship impact on the society on issues like education, health and environment through the social media because it is a medium that can facilitate meaningful and personalized communication. It is cost effective in relation to large audience and most importantly it ensures a balance in the process of communicating the organization's cause and activity.

Furthermore the above finding correlates finding in another study on the role of social media in entrepreneurship education in India by Agarwal (2015), that though distributive learning differ from formal learning, social media has the potential to impact on entrepreneurship education because of changes in the demand of learners. Also, in a study to assess social media use in entrepreneurship education, McIntosh (2015) examines effectiveness of Crowdsourcing as a pedagogical tool in entrepreneurship education, with background framework of the theory of planned behaviour and collaboration of Quirky. Com, a crowd outsourcing site, the result shows positive correlation.

The internet revolution has impacts on all facets of human lives including education, economics, and even politics. For students, the internet is an integral part of their lives as it has made the teaching and learning become easier compared to the olden days as nowadays information is at their fingertips. Despite its benefits, internet addiction may negatively impact the students' life such as on their emotional instability, depression, poor time management, and poor academic performance (Ambad et al, 2017).

7. Conclusion

It is clear that students in higher institutions specifically polytechnic acquire entrepreneurship education through formal education, through teaching

but not through informal education such as new media platform. The findings above reveal that majority of the students engage new media platform perhaps for social activities instead of more beneficial structured issues such as acquisition of entrepreneurship education. Therefore, it is imperative for individuals and policy makers to design intervention schemes that will redirect the students and youths engagement of new media towards beneficial ends like entrepreneurship education. The prospects for this is already established, the only thing remaining is to build on it.

8. Summary

The paper attempts to establish relationship between new media and entrepreneurship education and in the process, two relevant media theories were explored to illustrate how entrepreneurship education can become an issue of engagement in new media platforms. Empirical study was conducted which reveals that majority of the students are active on new media but not for acquisition of entrepreneurship education. Therefore, suggestions are necessary to correct this discovery.

9. Recommendations

The following recommendations would assist in facilitating more engagements of new media for the purpose of entrepreneurship continues education and training:

- Establishing new media platform for entrepreneurship education by both private organizations and government;
- Giving prominence to entrepreneurial issues and ideas in the websites of professional organization;
- There must be deliberate encouragement and counseling of youths to be active more on new media on issues affecting their future and development than ordinary social issues;
- Government can subsidize platforms dealing with entrepreneurial issues for the purpose of mobilizing and redirecting the energy of the youths towards profitable engagements; and
- The entrepreneurship education facilitators must deliberately give the students group tasks to be resolved on their social media platforms.

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Leadership Training in the Nigerian Army: An Assessment of the Performance of Platoon Commanders

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Abstract. The training of leaders in the military is of utmost importance especially that of the junior officer cadre. Junior officers in the Nigerian Army (NA) are expected to possess certain attributes; they must know what to do, when to do it and influence others to follow their lead. In other words, they should possess attributes that will make them effective leaders. This paper aims to examine the performance of Nigerian Army Commanders in the Junior Officer Cadre to establish the effectiveness of the training of junior officers and their performance as platoon commanders in the Nigerian Army. The findings of the study reveal that despite the update and construction of training curricula and training centres for Nigerian Army personnel, Junior officers' performance on the field continues to fall short of expectations due to insufficient training, as he lacks the necessary tools to meet the tasks on the field. The demand for manpower is high, and the number of cadets undergoing training has grown over time with little correlation to the number of instructors. This has an impact on the quality of training thereby affecting their performance in the field. Through content analysis of secondary data, this work discusses the various challenges faced in the training of Junior Officer Commanders. The paper explains that there are diverse challenges in the leadership training of the Junior Officer Cadre which serve to hinder their effective performance as Platoon Commanders, and therefore the training currently adopted may not adequately address or prepare them for the tasks ahead. Thus, the paper concludes by recommending that Nigerian Army should consider collective training for its personnel in oversea military institutions; establish a combined training course for Platoon leaders and Platoon Sergeants in order to breach communication gap and create more synergy between them; expanding the roles of the Nigerian Army Cyberwarfare Command (NACWC) to train Junior officers in Information and Communications Technology (ICT) and its possible

applications in warfare; construct training villages in order to portray realistic training environment to improve the performance of Junior officers in combat amongst others.

Keywords: Military training, military leadership, Platoon Commanders, military education

1. Introduction

Leaders make decisions that affect us all almost daily in every sphere of life. Leadership is the backbone to every aspect of life, this exists in various ways such as leadership in government, leadership in the religious aspects and up to leadership in a family setting. Leadership in any form demands a level of understanding of its set up. The success and development of any society is therefore integral to the quality of its leaders. Quality leadership motivates the people to a higher level of performance through their strong human relations. It is an important function of management which helps to maximize efficiency and to achieve organizational goals (Newcomb, *et al*, 1996) In reality, leadership is one of the most important aspects of being a military commander, the victory and success of any military is integral to the quality of its leaders. (Army leadership, 2020; Hoijberg, *et al*. 1999). Military Leadership is the process of influencing others to accomplish the mission by providing purpose, direction, and motivation. Command is the authority a person in the military service lawfully exercises over subordinates by virtue of his rank and assignment or position. A Junior Commander on the other hand, is a junior officer of the lower cadre, who commands the platoon. Platoons are commanded by junior officers, usually a second lieutenant and lieutenant or an equivalent rank. Junior Officers are trained at the military academy after which they earn the commission to become second lieutenants and lieutenants. In Nigeria, the Nigerian Defence

Academy (NDA) is responsible for the training of cadets who are subsequently commissioned as junior officers into the Nigerian Army. Other institutions with responsibility to train officers include the Armed Forces Command and Staff College (AFCSC), as well as the Nigerian Army School of Infantry (NASI) to name a few, are corps training Institutions. The leadership training of junior officers in these military academies are confronted with challenges which have affected the output of junior officers in the field. This is due to numerous factors, which when coalesced, bring about dwindling performances of Platoon commanders especially in counter-insurgency operations (COIN). It is against this backdrop that this paper seeks to address the challenges which affect the performance of the Junior Officer Cadre in the Nigerian Army. The paper gives an overview of training of junior officers in the Nigerian Army, and it also examines how the effectiveness of the training of junior officers augments their performances as platoon commanders in the Nigerian Army. Thereafter, it discusses the challenges in training of junior officers and suggests a way forward. This is because the training of junior officers reflects on their performance in combat.

2. Overview of Training of Junior Commanders in the Nigerian Army

The Nigerian Army since its establishment has been engaged with training of officers. Training is a vital tool in achieving success and efficiency in the output and performance of the military. Training provides discipline and instruction directed towards the development of professionalism with a view to enhance proficiency in the Nigerian military. The origin of training in the military dates to 335 BC in Athens where young males received compulsory military training on the use of weapons and martial arts to improve their combat efficiency and readiness because of the constant conflicts in the ancient cities. In modern times, organised military trainings were conducted in England during the civil wars between England and Scotland in the period 1638-1660. In 1775, military training was conducted in America during the American Revolutionary Wars where the continental army formation was trained to meet the demands of the war.

In Nigeria, military training can be traced to the period of the creation of the Royal British West African Frontier Force (RBWAF) which evolved into the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria at independence in 1960. (Duke, 2019). The form of training received at the early stage was mainly for the army to assist the British during the world wars. After independence, the army training

became necessary because the new personnel needed to be trained in the art of defending the territory and the nation's interest using military force. However, by 1964, military training changed direction with the establishment of the Nigerian Defence Academy, which involved military education.

This military education and/or training which primarily involved the learning of tactical and rudimentary skills like first aid and field hygiene, map-reading, patrolling, post duties and military drills among others, to ensure that military personnel (both combatants and health workers) were ready to go on to carry on their task of defending the country. By 1967-1970, training in the Nigerian military depreciated because of the civil war where young men were recruited without proper training into the military to preserve the unity of the nation as against the secessionist Biafrans. After the civil war, the nation had a very large military force without proper training. Thus, it became necessary for Nigeria's military to organise a middle-level and advanced military trainings and courses for effectiveness and efficiency in the discharge of military duties. This explains the establishments Naval and Air Force Training Commands, Armed Forces Command and Staff College, Jaji, and the Infantry Corps Centre and School (ICCS), the Department of Army Training and Operation (DATOPS) supervised by the Chief of Training and Operations, Army (CTOP 'A') among many others were established to train the military to meet the standard of global best practices.

The military has highlighted the importance of continuous training of personnel to prepare them for future leadership roles. Developing military leadership is an important investment to make for the future of the army because it builds trust in relationships and units, prepares leaders for future uncertainty, and is critical to readiness and the army's success (Army Leadership, 2020). Junior officers undergo leadership training for effective leadership of the platoons they would subsequently lead.

The Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna was established to train and prepare officer cadets for the officer cadre. Over time, the training curriculum was adjusted to suit the contemporary challenges faced by the country and its national interest (Aladi, 2015). NASI for infantry officers is also charged with developing young officers. The Armed Forces Command and Staff College which is a defence establishment is geared towards enhancing the professional prowess of military officials of the three arms of the Nigerian military and civilians in the Ministry of Defence (MOD), through the in-depth

studies of command-cum-staff operations (Otu, 2019).

Due to the evolving nature of security demands and combat roles of junior officers, the training reflects on the performance of the officers on the field. Post training on passing out from the Nigerian Defence Academy is necessary to improve the leadership and command skills of officers. Nigerian Army School of Infantry provides leadership training and courses to develop the junior officers as their tasks and roles expand. The courses are also aimed at developing and enhancing the combat and leadership administrative skills of the junior officers and military leaders in the Nigerian Army.

3. Challenges in Training of Junior Commanders

A major factor in the military's shortcoming has been the lack of effective leadership particularly from the junior officer commanders. There is need to improve on the training and retraining of junior officers of the Nigerian Army to overcome the challenges they face as they carry out their leadership responsibilities in the army. Junior commanders lack the requisite tools to suit the responsibilities on the field due to inadequate training. The demand for manpower is high, and over the years the increase in strength of cadets undergoing training has increased with little relation to the instructors. This affects the quality of training which thereafter reflects on the field. The quality of the training needs to be improved upon to enhance the performance of junior commanders on the field.

The current contemporary challenges are diverse and therefore the training currently adopted may not completely address or prepare junior commanders for the tasks ahead. The preceding paragraphs elaborate on the challenges faced in the training of junior commanders in the Nigerian Army.

3.1 Lack of Updated and Applicable Curricula

The curriculum for training in military institutions is necessary for achieving goals and objectives for the training of junior officers as platoon commanders. But the curriculum in the Nigerian training institutions does not meet the threshold and is sometimes not relevant to the context at play. The training syllabus used by the military training centres does not comprehensively cater for the contemporary security challenges facing Nigeria (Kumapayi, 2011). Even though, conventional war is the primary aim of the Nigerian Army, however, it has found itself more

involved in internal security situations, an assertion that was further reinforced by Otu Effiong (2019). The study recognised that the training institutions in Nigeria, over the years, have been dedicated towards the training of its military for peacekeeping missions as the twin issues of insurgency and terrorism, which are recent developments had not yet reared their ugly heads in the nation. This had proved to be consequential in the efficiency of platoon commanders as the syllabus is hardly adjusted to provide for this need. Thus, in a study by Maikomo and Ngomba, it is perceived that the training curriculum at the Nigerian Army military academies has not been able to reflect the training needs of the Nigerian Army troops counterinsurgency operations (COIN) such as in Operation Lafiya Dole (OPLD). He exerts that many of the programmes indicated at the training curriculum is not covered at the various military training academies in Nigerian Army (Maikomo, 2013). There is therefore the need to review its training curriculum for enhanced counter-insurgency operations for junior commanders.

3.2 Poor Quality of Training for Junior Commanders

The military in Nigeria is understaffed and undertrained. Despite the elaborate training institutions, and the service headquarters issue training directives to units and formations annually; effective training continue to decline over the years. Many reasons account for this decline, the training centres lack qualified instructors, instructor to cadet ratio to achieve results is inadequate thereby tactical training and its overall quality is increasingly in decline which leaves much to be desired. Junior officers as platoon leaders require a high standard of training to meet the modern trends to asymmetric warfare. For example, leadership training for counter-insurgency operations requires training equipment that are unique. However, the equipment holding in various training centres in Nigerian Army training institutions are inadequate and do not enable efficiency of platoon commanders and their subordinates (Kumapayi, 2011). It is therefore recommended that the Nigerian Army consider expanding its training capabilities to accommodate and meet up the strength requirement.

3.3 Inadequate Use of ICT Relevant Sources

The timely receipt of, and exchange of information is inherent in the operations of a platoon unit. This is because the free flow of information enables a platoon unit to identify hostile tendencies and likely actions before and after an operation. Most

adversaries rely on ICT for their communication and planning. According to a study by Kumapayi (2011), ICT training in the Nigerian Defence Army and other Nigerian Army training institutions is circumscribed to basic operations of computers. In developed countries like the USA, weaponised ICT operated gadgets are employed for warfare. An example is it's the USA's military use of tactical drones and attack drones, others include computerised unmanned ariel vehicles (UAVs), built by its Army. The Nigerian Army therefore needs to extend ICT training beyond the basic use of computers. This may be achieved by broadening the scope of the newly established Cyberwarfare Command to incorporate a broader spectrum of an enhanced training of its personnel to apply ICT in all kinds of warfare. This would improve and encourage ICT skill employment by junior commanders.

3.4 Lack of Adequate Instructors at Training Institutions

Training at military institutions requires adequate manpower in the form of principal staff and instructors which are required to administer the officers and conduct training for students. For effective training, qualified instructors are required to enhance and develop the performances of junior officers as platoon commanders. However, the Nigerian Army training institutions lack adequate manpower thereby, limiting the training capacity of schools which has undermined military training of junior commanders. (Maikomo, 2013). Lack of adequate manpower thus, serves as a contending issue for the efficient performance of junior officers as platoon commanders. The Nigerian Army postings of capable instructors to its training institution for training of officers should be prioritized. Also, the Nigerian Army can employ the use of retired service personnel to serve as instructors at these institutions. Furthermore, training aids such as instructional training videos such as the British Army Instructional Military Training clips for all subjects can be created to fill in gaps and used for effective teaching of junior commanders during and after training sessions.

4. Way Forward

Considering the challenges and need for improved training of junior commanders which will impact their performance on the field, there is the need to improve training of junior officers in the Nigerian Army. The importance of training and re-training in the army cannot be over emphasised. Training is the hallmark of professionalism. Ogbaji (2014: 187)

emphasised the assertion by General Rommel in her paper thus:

War makes extremely heavy demands on soldiers' strength and nerves. For this reason, make heavy demands on your men in peacetime exercises. It is difficult to maintain contact in fog... Advances through fog by means of a compass must be practised, since smoke will frequently be employed. In a meeting engagement in the fog, the side capable of developing a maximum fire power on contact will get the upper hand; therefore, keep the machine guns ready for action at all times during the advance. All units of the group must provide for their own security. This is especially true in close terrain and when faced with a highly mobile enemy. Too much spade work is better than too little. Sweat saves blood...

Some further considerations are discussed below.

4.1 Collective Training of Platoons/Units in Oversea Military Academies

In the past years, Nigerian military personnel have been trained in foreign countries like the United Kingdom and the United States military to enhance the efficiency of junior officers in combat operations. (Jamieson, 2017). However, the training is done in small numbers and in most cases, individually and not the whole platoon/unit. This serves as a constraint to the adroitness of the platoon unit as per the lack of uniformity in training. To overcome this difficulty, it is suggested that when sending platoon commanders to foreign countries for military training, the platoon as a unit should take part. The importance of the collective training of the platoon unit in combat operations cannot be overemphasized as this would augment understanding and confidence between the platoon unit in combat operations.

4.2 Improve Relationship Between the Platoons Commanders and Platoon Sergeants

According to a study by the United States Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, the Platoon commander (PC) and Platoon Sergeant (PSG) leadership team is a unique and an influential pair of roles that exist in the army (United States Army Research Institute for the Behavioural and Social Sciences, 2018). For a platoon to succeed, an effective partnership must exist between the Platoon commanders and the Platoon Sergeants. Many of the tools and training currently available to junior officers in the Nigerian Army focuses mainly on learning tasks necessary for performing their duties or managing relations with superiors and their

platoon subordinates. However, less focus is placed on developing working relations between the Platoon Leaders and Platoon Sergeants that would ultimately enhance platoon efficiency (Kumapayi, 2011). There is therefore, the need to comprehensively indoctrinate and develop a working relationship between the Platoon Leaders and the Sergeants. More so, it is necessity to develop a guide to assist in building a professional relationship between the two. The guide would be used when a new leader or sergeant enters the platoon, enabling the two leaders to arrive at a shared understanding of their partnership and their platoon. It also doubles as a snag in a situation where the Platoon Leader is inexperienced, he would consequently seek mentorship from the Platoon Sergeant. In a similar vein, the junior officers in the Nigerian Army have the tendencies of relegating the importance of non-commissioned officers. There are instances where the commanders bully and browbeat their subordinates. This is an adverse attitude and approach to leadership as a platoon commander. The United States (US) Army had the same setback especially in its wars, whereby, commanders tend to intimidate their subordinates and have a somewhat demeaning attitude towards them. However, to resolve this, the United States Army established a school where commissioned and non-commissioned military personnel collectively train without any rank, name, or other forms of anterior identifications, called the 'Ranger School'. They commit to a 62-day small unit tactic and leadership course that develops their functional skills, which is designed to physically stress students to a point short of death (Lock, 2005). The training has been one of the major solutions to the inefficacy of junior commanders in the field. The same could be replicated in the Nigerian Army whereby, cadets, right after commissioning and before engaging in combat operations, could be trained in such military school as the Ranger School.

4.3 Use of Technology Driven Innovations for Training and Instructional Videos

Military organizations in the world have historically turned to technology to maximize the efficiency and effectiveness of their training. Two examples of these technological innovations whose development have been substantial are the Computer Assisted Instructions (CAI) and Simulation-Based Instructions (SBI) (Mustafa, et al, 2011). The Nigerian Military training institutions need to introduce the computer assisted instructions and simulations for the training of junior officers. An example of such programme is the Programmed Logic for Automated Teaching (PLATO) which was specifically designed for the development and presentation of instructions by the

US Army (Donald, *et al*, 1961). It allowed for digitized graphics with animation to be displayed along with text during teaching operations. This would be of immense importance to the training of junior officers as it tends to adjust the space, sequence, and difficulty of task so that learning is accelerated allowing junior officers to learn and focus on 'what they need to learn' rather than 'what they already know'. On the other hand, simulation innovations should be used by the Nigerian Army for the training of its junior officers to make them effective platoon commanders; this is so because simulations create a combat-like environment and concentrate on learning through interactions with the authentic 'real world' experiences which is inherent to the effective training of junior officers to prepare them for combat operations. To further buttress this, Captain S. T. Payne (2020), when he was commenting on the potency of realistic exercise in the British Army, asserts that "*No amount of Sandhurst-type leadership training by itself can replicate the lessons one learns on realistic exercises in a close-to-realistic training environment and alongside the people with whom you'll deploy*". This initiative thus gives the junior commanders a notion of how the combat field looks like in real-time. The Nigerian Army should accommodate more slots in the newly established Land Forces Simulation Centre for training of its junior commanders, producing animated videos and instructional training videos.

4.4 Prioritise and Develop on Advanced Situational Awareness

Junior commanders operate in a complex environment requiring that they attend to multiple information sources, prioritise among competing and sometimes conflicting goals, and make rapid decisions all under highly stressful conditions where the loss of life, either their own or that of their subordinates is a constant threat. To complicate the issue, the junior commanders are relatively inexperienced officers with minimal service time, training, and experience to draw on. In this environment, superior Situational Awareness (SA) provides tremendous advantages to those with the ability to acquire it and the experience to use it. Situational awareness is conceptualised by Endsley, as the 'perception of the elements in the environment within a volume of time and space the comprehension of their meaning and the projection of their status in the future' (Endsley, 1993). In this regard, the Nigerian Army training institutions should develop an advance technology, leadership development and training concepts targeted at enhancing situational awareness at all echelons. This

is so because, in a demanding combat environment where infantry platoon leaders operate, superior situational awareness brings survivability and optimizing lethality.

4.5 Preserve a Realistic Training Environment for Military Training

The Nigerian military training institutions like Nigerian Defence Academy and Nigerian Army School of Infantry only provide basic tactics training, which is no doubt significant to combat operations. But of more importance is carrying out realistic practical training for the junior officers. Building on Bourdieu's theory of social practice (Bourdieu, 1993), carrying out realistic pre-deployment training should occur in a militarized field of power, identified, and located within a field which should be shaped by the structures of the real combat environment. The interplay of social norms, practices and discourse that determine the behaviour and thinking of enemy actors that operate within the field should form the field's habitat. This is to provide junior officers with the ability to think ahead and anticipating the unknown, the unexpected, thus possibly countering an oversight long before it becomes an obstacle. Appending to this, unlike the basic tactical training where junior commanders are trained to 'see what they can do', using realistic pre-deployment settings enables them to 'see and perceive what the enemy can do'. Captain Payne acknowledged its significance in the British Army when he asserted in an interview that *"...I would say the training regime for operations as a whole underwent a huge operational transformation... All that realistic training gave confidence to the Platoon commanders...the British Army was (anecdotally) pretty poor at the Company and below level at the start of say, Iraq. Blokes talk about the really ropey drills they had. All that improved hugely. The realistic pre-deployment training was really heavily invested in to test and rehearse those levels of command."* (Payne, 2020).

5. Conclusion

Despite the establishment and updating of training curriculum and training centres for Nigerian Army personnel, the performance of junior commanders still falls below the standard as observed on the field. This can be cast on the variables of different training and diversity of skills within a unit, and therefore the need to conduct more combined training for Platoon commanders and their men. The Nigerian Army should therefore consider collective training for its personnel in oversea military institutions. The

establishment of a training avenue for Platoon leaders and their Sergeants would breach the gap between them. Recurring weak cooperative attitude between Platoon leaders and the sergeants has gravely affected the performance of junior commanders on the field. The Nigerian Army can therefore establish a combined training course for the two groups to breach communication gap and create more synergy between them.

Globalisation and Technological advancement have since time immemorial advanced with every passing minute. The need for constant update of ICT knowledge gives an edge to an individual. The need to be updated and ICT-compliant not just in basic computer application but its employment in warfare would improve the performance of a junior commander. The Nigerian Army should therefore consider expanding the roles of the Nigerian Army Cyberwarfare Command to train the young commanders on ICT and its possible application for warfare. Furthermore, cyberwarfare command should be able to accommodate large scale training via real life simulated training of junior commanders to prepare them in line with the modern trend of warfare. The Nigerian Army can also consider employing the use of instructional training video aid for officers to enhance assimilation.

Situational awareness can be a tool to draw out field experience for them to quickly adjust and prepare themselves for future tasks. The Nigerian Army training institutions should therefore develop concepts to enhance situational awareness for junior commanders. As the security challenges evolve globally, it also affects the nature and pace at which the Nigerian contemporary security architecture operates. The evolving nature and situation on the battlefield need be brought to bear on the junior commanders operational and combat readiness. It is therefore imperative that realistic training environment be used for training. The Nigerian Army could construct training villages to portray realistic training environment to improve Junior Commanders performance in combat.

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Perceived Sources of Academic Stress among Undergraduates in a Nigerian University

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Abstract. The present study investigated the perceived sources of stress among undergraduates in a Nigerian University. Three Faculties were purposefully selected from the fourteen Faculties in the University. 427 undergraduates were randomly selected to participate in the study. A descriptive research design was adopted for the study. Data on perceived sources of academic stress were collected using the Perceived Academic Stress Scale (PASS) which was adapted from Bedewy and Gabriel (2015). The instrument was validated. One research question was raised and three hypotheses were formulated to guide the study. Data collected were analysed with descriptive and inferential statistics. The hypotheses were tested at 0.05 level of significance. The perceived sources of stress among the respondents were compared on the bases of course of study/Faculty, age and level of study. The results revealed that the major perceived source of stress among the undergraduates was workload and examinations. Undergraduates in Physical Sciences had significantly higher perception of workload and examinations and academic self-perception as sources of academic stress than undergraduates in Social Sciences. Undergraduates in Physical Sciences also had significantly higher perception of parental expectation as a source of stress than undergraduates in Faculties of Education and Social Sciences. There were no significant differences in the perception of sources of academic stress among the undergraduates based on age and level of study. It was recommended that the Students' Guidance and Counselling centre should design intervention strategies that target at helping students learn to cope with academic stress. It was also recommended that good study habits and skills should be specifically taught to help students cope with work load and examination.

Keywords: Academic Stress, Sources, Faculties, Undergraduates, Level of Study, Age.

1. Introduction

Stress is a normal phenomenon in everyday life. It is an emotional feeling that makes a person uncomfortable and unhappy with the situation he or she has to overcome. In small amounts, stress can help individuals to be more active and productive. However, very high levels of stress experienced over a prolonged period can cause significant mental and physical problems (Alsulami et al 2018). While a little stress can motivate an individual, pushing him or her to meet challenges that result in increased productivity, the stress levels may sometimes get out of control and lead to problems. In the university, there are more demands on students than happens in the secondary school. Though there is much more academic pressure in the university, there is less supervision than obtains in the secondary school. This can lead to stress associated with management of time, finances, relationships, the environment and academics. Academic stress is stress experienced within the educational environment. It is stress associated with students in relation to the burdens of scholastic pursuit. Kadapatti and Vigayalaxmi (2012) defined academic stress as a demand related to academics that exceeds the available internal and external resources or the cognitive abilities of the students involved. Academic stress sometimes reflects the individual's perception of academic frustrations, academic conflict, pressure and academic anxiety. It can also arise from an individual's disposition to circumstances around him or her. Depression, anxiety, behavioural problems and irritability are among the many problems reported in students with high academic stress (Deb, Strodl & Sun, 2015). When not properly handled, academic stress can degenerate to complex situations of depression, dropout and even suicide. Circumstances that disrupt or threaten to disrupt individuals' daily functioning or cause people to make adjustments are referred to as stressors or

sources of stress. While responses to stress may be identical, the sources reported by individuals vary. Bataineh (2013) measured academic stressors experienced by undergraduates and found that excessive academic workload, lack of time to study, high family expectations and low motivation levels are some of the reasons for stress experienced by the undergraduates. Academic stress may therefore arise due to internal factors such as academic self-perception and the inability to manage time or from external factors such as workload and examinations, and parental expectations. Situations such as heavy course load, poor study habit, meeting up with assignment deadlines, preparing for examinations, internet addiction, finances among others promote and aggravate academic stress in students. Common sources of academic stress reported include poor time management and poor social skills, academic self-perception, academic expectation of teachers and parents, peer competition among others. Compelling need to excel in studies can also be a source of stress, failure and breakdown. The present study investigated university students' perception of Workload and Examinations (WLE), Time Management (TME), Parental Expectations (PEX) and Academic Self-Perception (ASP) as sources of stress.

Workload and examinations (WLE) refers to the amount of work assigned to a student in a specified period in the academic setting. This includes assignments, tutorial classes, tests and examinations, quizzes, reports and practical work. Heavy workloads can cause feelings of nervousness, frustrations, anger and anxiety. Kausar (2010) found a significant positive relationship between academic workload and perceived academic stress. In the same vein, Ganesh et al (2012), working on factors contributing to stress found that examination stress had the highest percentage (63%) compared to psychological problems (50%) and other issues. Similarly, heavy academic workload was found to be the most prominent factor affecting the stress levels of undergraduates in Sri Lankan public universities ((Weerasinghe et al,2012). Time management (TMG) is a non-academic skill that impacts academic success. Time management is the ability to prioritise, schedule and execute personal responsibilities (Kaur,2016) It implies taking active role in choosing how time is spent and not just letting things happen. Many students find it difficult to regulate both their study and their extracurricular lives (Vander, Mere, Jansen & Torenbeek,2010) and this may lead to poor time management, poor academic performance and increased levels of stress. Misra and Mackean (as cited in Adams and Blair

2019) identified time management as having a buffering effect on stress. Scherer, Talley and Fife (2017) also found that time management perspectives are effective predictors of academic outcomes because students' inability to plan their work may result in agitation towards the end of the course when they are likely to be assessed. Poor time management or inability to manage time has been associated with poor academic achievement and anxiety. Yanik, Yan, Kaul and Ferguson (2016) found that when students were asked to write journal entries in which they expressed their fears and anxieties, time management was a prominent theme.

Academic self-perception is the perception that a student has about his or her own academic abilities. A student's academic self-perception determines academic performance because an individual's perception of self will determine the effort it will take to learn something new and persist in difficult academic tasks. Sahu et al (2016) found that students' self-concept correlated significantly negatively with academic stress. When a student feels good about his or her academic abilities, he is more likely to be relaxed and less anxious than when he/she feels otherwise. Hassan et al (2021), working with university students taking virtual classes during COVID-19 pandemic in Saudi Arabia found that positive academic self-perception correlated positively with course satisfaction which signifies low academic stress.

Parental expectations have also been identified as sources of stress among students. Parental support is needed by every student to achieve success. Parental expectation(PEX) helps to develop the individual's ability and talent and increase academic achievement. However, parents may sometimes set unrealistic high goals for their children and this expectation may lead to academic stress in the children. Parental expectation consistently higher than a child's ability can demotivate the child when he or she fails to meet these expectations. Also, students may feel pressured by unhealthy comparisons made by parents and teachers. Jones (2015) found that excessive parental expectation causes stress which negatively impacts on the child's academic achievement. Subramani and Venkatachalam (2019), however, found no significant correlation between parental expectation and academic stress of students. Academic stress can be related to the course of study undertaken by a student. Some course areas are more demanding of students' time, more abstract and tasking, thus leading to higher academic stress than other courses. Bataineh (2013) found no significant difference in academic stress among students from different areas

of specialisation. However, statistically significant differences in level of stress according to faculty / course/streamline profile have been reported (Aihie & Ohanaka, 2019, Reddy et al, 2018 & Anitei et al ,2015). Anitei et al (2015) found that students in Faculty of Chemistry had significantly higher levels of stress than students in Faculty of Psychology, Reddy et al (2018) also found significant streamline differences in academic stress. Students studying Commerce reported the highest levels of stress compared to students in Management Science and Humanities. Students in Humanities reported the least level of stress. In the same vein, Aihie and Ohanaka (2019) found that students in Physical Sciences had significantly higher levels of stress than students in the Faculties of Education and Social Sciences.

Age may also influence academic stress. While Onolemhenhen and Abel (2020) found that stress levels decline with increasing age, Aihie and Ohanaka (2019) and Chemutai and Mulambula (2020) found no significant influence of age on levels of stress among university undergraduates in Nigeria and Kenya respectively. Level of study of students have been found to influence stress levels. In this regard, Aihie and Ohanaka (2019) found that final year (4th year) students had the highest level of stress compared to first year and middle years' (200 and 300 levels) students. Chemutai and Mulambula (2020) found that year three students had higher levels of stress than those in other years. In the study by Onolemhenhen and Abel (2020), students' level of stress was high in the first year, declined in the middle years and rose in the final year.

1.1 Rationale for the Study

Sources of stress differ despite common responses to it. In order to be able to assist students in coping with academic stress, counsellors need to understand the sources. Understanding the sources of stress among students will help in developing interventions to reduce stress levels so that appropriate coping mechanisms can be learnt leading to the development of individuals that are well adjusted. The present study was designed to investigate the perceived sources of stress among undergraduates and to determine the influences, if any, of course of study, level of study and age on the perceived sources of academic stress among the students.

1.2 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the perceived sources of academic stress among undergraduates in a Nigerian University. The study

investigated the major perceived source of academic stress among the undergraduates and the influence, if any, of course of study, age and level of study on the perceived source of academic stress.

1.3 Research Question

What is the perceived major source of stress among the undergraduates?

1.4 Hypotheses

There is no significant difference in the perceived sources of academic stress among undergraduates of different Faculties.

There is no significant difference in the perceived sources of academic stress among the undergraduates based on levels of study.

There is no significant difference in the perceived sources of academic stress among the undergraduates based on age.

2. Methodology

2.1 Design of the Study

The study is a descriptive research. The survey method was employed in gathering data for the study. No variables were manipulated. The study sought the opinions of the participants regarding their perceptions of time-management, parental expectation, academic self-perception and workload and examinations as sources of academic stress.

2.2 Sample of the Study

The sample of the study consisted of 427 randomly selected undergraduates from three Faculties in a Nigerian University. The students were located in the lecture halls at the end of the second semester, just before the examinations. The Faculties were purposively selected. First the three Faculties offer four years' degree programmes, then students in the Faculty of Education take some courses in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Physical Sciences. The sample was made up of 142 (33.3%) undergraduates in Faculty of Education, 126 (29.5%) in Faculty of Social Sciences and 159 (37.2%) in Faculty of Physical Sciences. 128 (30% of the sample) were aged 16-19 years while 229 (70%) were aged 20 years and above. Three levels of study were considered in the present study thus: 100 level, made up of 140 students (32.8%), middle level -200 and 300 levels made up of 172 students (40.3%) and final year/400 level made up of 115 students (26.9%)

2.3 Instrument for the Study

A 20-item questionnaire titled Perception of Academic Stress Scale (PASS) adapted from Bedewy and Gabriel (2015) was validated and used to gather data for the study. The original instrument is an 18-item instrument designed to measure the perceived sources of academic stress, with responses on a 5-point likert scale ranging from strongly agree (5) to strongly disagree (1). The face, content and convergent validity of the instrument were established and its internal consistency reliability was 0.70 (Bedewy & Gabriel, 2015). Two more items were added to make the present instrument a 20-item scale and the responses were on a 4-point scale ranging from strongly agree (4) to strongly disagree (1). The internal consistency reliability of the present instrument was 0.81 (Crombach's alpha). The instrument had two sections. Section A sought demographic information about the respondents while section B was the 20-item Perception of Academic Stress Scale (PASS).

2.4 Method of Data Collection

After due consent was obtained, the instrument was administered to the respondents and the completed forms retrieved. The researcher explained the purpose of the study and assured respondents of confidentiality in handling their responses. They were not required to write their names on the instrument.

2.5 Method of Data Analyses

Data collected were collated and analysed using descriptive statistics (means and standard deviation) and inferential statistics (ANOVA). Alpha level was set at 0.05. The independent variables of the study were Faculty/course of study which had three levels (Education, Physical Sciences and Social Sciences), level /year of study which had three levels (100level, 200 and 300 levels and 400level) and age which had two levels (16-19 years -younger students) and 20years and above – older students) The dependent variable of the study was respondents' perceived sources of academic stress.

3. Results

Research Question: what is the perceived major source of academic stress among the undergraduates?

Table 1 Means and Standard Deviation of perceived sources of academic stress among the undergraduates

Sources of stress	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
WLE	427	18.3091	3.42294
TMG	426	9.8545	2.28601
PEX	426	10.3756	2.43016
ASP	426	15.3888	2.05298

Key – WLE= Workload and Examinations, TMG= Time Management, PEX= Parental Expectations, ASP = Academic Self-Perception

The results on table 1 show that the undergraduates perceive Workload and examinations(WLE) (mean score =18.3091) as the greatest/major source of academic stress.

Hypothesis 1.-There is no significant difference in the perceived sources of academic stress among undergraduates of different Faculties

Table 2 Means and Standard Deviation of perceived sources of academic stress among undergraduates in the three Faculties

Sources of Academic Stress	Faculties	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
WLE	Education	142	18.2676	2.91223
	Physical Sciences	159	19.0440	3.54598
	Social Sciences	126	17.4286	3.60539
	Total	427	18.3091	3.42293
TMG	Education	142	10.0352	2.16160
	Physical Sciences	158	9.7595	2.25854

	Social Sciences	126	9.7698	2.45654
	Total	426	9.8545	2.28601
PEX	Education	142	9.8521	2.40256
	Physical Sciences	158	11.0633	2.37740
	Social Sciences	126	10.1032	2.34207
	Total	426	10.3756	2.43016
ASP	Education	142	15.3310	1.95235
	Physical Sciences	159	15.8239	2.13036
	Social Sciences	126	14.9048	1.96134
	Total	427	15.3888	2.05298

The results displayed in table 2 show that the mean scores for perception of the sources of academic stress among the undergraduates in the three Faculties, in descending order, are as follows: for workload and examinations(WLE) - Physical Sciences =19.0440, Education =18.2676 and Social Sciences =17.4286; for Time management(TM)G)- Education =10.0352, Social Sciences =9.7698 and Physical Sciences =9.795, for Academic expectations of parents(PEX) – Physical Sciences =11.0633, Social Sciences=10.1032 and Education =9.8521 and for Academic self-perception(ASP) –Physical Sciences =15.8239, Education =15.3310 and Social Sciences =14.9048. Analysis of variance was carried out to determine if there were significant differences in the mean scores. The results are displayed in table 3.

Table 3: Summary of ANOVA of the perceived sources of stress among undergraduates in the three Faculties

		Sum of squares	df	mean square	F	Sig
WLE	Between Groups	183.814	2	91.907	8.106	.000
	Within Groups	4807.380	424	11.338		
	Total	4991.194	426			
TMG	Between Groups	6.966	2	3.483	665	.515
	Within Groups	2214.010	423	5.234		
	Total	2220.977	425			
PEX	Between Groups	122.986	2	61.493	10.894	.000
	Within Groups	2386.920	423	5.643		
	Total	2509.906	425			
ASP	Between Groups	60.096	2	30.048	7.342	.001
	Within Groups	1735.370	424	4.093		
	Total	1795.466	426			

$\alpha=0.05$

The ANOVA on table3 reveal that there were significant differences in the undergraduates' perception of work load and examinations(WLE), parental expectation (PEX) and academic self-perception (ASP) as sources of academic stress in the three Faculties. The null hypothesis was therefore rejected. To determine the direction of the differences, a post hoc analysis was carried out and the results are displayed in table 4 below.

Table 4: Multiple comparisons (Post Hoc) of the differences in expressed sources of academic stress among undergraduates in the three Faculties

Dependent Variable	(I) faculty	(J) faculty	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
WLE	Education	Physical Sciences	-.77642	.38879	.137
		Social Sciences	.83903	.41211	.127
	physical sciences	Education	.77642	.38879	.137
		Social Sciences	1.61545*	.40161	.000
	social sciences	Education	-.83903	.41211	.127
		Physical Sciences	-1.61545*	.40161	.000

TMG	Education	physical sciences	.27572	.26455	.581
		Social Sciences	.26537	.28000	.638
	physical sciences	Education	-.27572	.26455	.581
		Social Sciences	-.01035	.27325	.999
	social sciences	Education	-.26537	.28000	.638
		Physical Sciences	.01035	.27325	.999
PEX	Education	Physical Sciences	-1.21118*	.27469	.000
		Social Sciences	-.25106	.29073	.689
	physical sciences	Education	1.21118*	.27469	.000
		Social Sciences	.96012*	.28372	.004
	social sciences	Education	.25106	.29073	.689
		Physical Sciences	-.96012*	.28372	.004
ASP	Education	Physical Sciences	-.49291	.23359	.109
		Social Sciences	.42622	.24760	.228
	physical sciences	Education	.49291	.23359	.109
		Social Sciences	.91914*	.24130	.001
	social sciences	Education	-.42622	.24760	.228
		Physical Sciences	-.91914*	.24130	.001

$\alpha = 0.05$

The results of the Post Hoc analysis on Table 4 reveal that there is a significant difference between undergraduates in Physical Sciences and Social Sciences ($\alpha=0.000$) in the perception of Workload and Examinations as a source of academic stress in favour of Physical Sciences which had a higher mean score (18.2676). The results also show statistically significant differences between undergraduates in Physical Sciences and Education ($\alpha=0.000$) and between undergraduates in Physical Sciences and Social Sciences ($\alpha=0.004$) in the perception of parental expectation as a source of academic stress. The undergraduates in the Physical Sciences have significantly higher perception of parental expectation as a source of academic stress than undergraduates in the other two Faculties. Regarding the perception of academic self-concept as a source of academic stress, the Post Hoc analysis reveal a significant difference between undergraduates in Physical Sciences and Social Sciences ($\alpha=0.001$). The mean score of the undergraduates in Physical Sciences was also significantly higher.

Hypothesis 2: There is no significant difference in perceived sources of academic stress among undergraduates based on levels of study.

Sources of Academic stress	Level of study	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
WLE	100level	140	17.8071	3.03670
	200l and 300 levels	172	18.4942	3.37777
	400level	115	18.6435	3.86662
	Total	427	18.3091	3.42293
TMG	100level	140	9.5643	2.46475
	200 and 300 levels	172	9.8779	2.04687
	400level	114	10.1754	2.37332
	Total	426	9.8545	2.28601
PEX	100level	140	10.3929	2.21732
	200 and 300 levels	172	10.1337	2.42782
	400level	114	10.7193	2.65246
	Total	426	10.3756	2.43016

ASP	100level	140	15.1143	2.01464
	200 and 300 levels	172	15.5988	2.09052
	400level	115	15.4087	2.02136
	Total	427	15.3888	2.05298

The results displayed on Table 5 show that there are differences in the mean scores for perceived sources of academic stress among the undergraduates of different levels of study. To determine if the differences are statistically significant, analysis of variance statistics was employed and the results are displayed on Table 6

Table 6: Summary of ANOVA of differences in perceived sources of academic stress among undergraduates in the different levels of study

Sources of Academic stress		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
WLE	Between Groups	54.025	2	27.012	2.320	.100
	Within Groups	4937.170	424	11.644		
	Total	4991.194	426			
TMG	Between Groups	23.628	2	11.814	2.274	.104
	Within Groups	2197.349	423	5.195		
	Total	2220.977	425			
PEX	Between Groups	23.571	2	11.786	2.005	.136
	Within Groups	2486.335	423	5.878		
	Total	2509.906	425			
ASP	Between Groups	18.184	2	9.092	2.169	.116
	Within Groups	1777.283	424	4.192		
	Total	1795.466	426			

$\alpha = 0.05$

The summary of ANOVA of the differences in Perceived sources of academic stress among undergraduates of different levels of study displayed on Table6 indicate that there is no statistically significant difference in the undergraduates' perception of sources of academic stress based on level of study. The null hypothesis is thus upheld.

Hypothesis 3: There is no significant difference in the perceived sources of academic stress among the undergraduates based on age.

Table 7: Means and standard deviation of perceived sources of academic stress of the younger and older undergraduates

Sources of academic stress	Age in years	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
WLE	16-19	128	18.6406	3.23790
	20 and above	299	18.1672	3.49479
	Total	427	18.3091	3.42293
TMG	16-19	128	9.7266	2.34341
	20 and above	298	9.9094	2.26268
	Total	426	9.8545	2.28601
PEX	16-19	128	10.4531	2.43614
	20 and above	298	10.3423	2.43092
	Total	426	10.3756	2.43016
ASP	16-19	128	15.2734	1.90612
	20 and above	299	15.4381	2.11388
	Total	427	15.3888	2.05298

The results on Table 7 above show that there are differences between the mean scores of the younger and older undergraduates in their perceptions of the four variables (workload and examination-WLE, time management-TME, parental expectation-PEX and academic self-perception-ASP) as sources of academic stress. The mean differences were analysed using ANOVA and the results are displayed on Table 8.

Table 8: Summary of ANOVA of differences in perceived sources of stress between the younger and older undergraduates

Sources of stress	academic	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
WLE	Between Groups	20.087	1	20.087	1.717	.191
	Within Groups	4971.108	425	11.697		
	Total	4991.194	426			
TMG	Between Groups	2.993	1	2.993	.572	.450
	Within Groups	2217.983	424	5.231		
	Total	2220.977	425			
PEX	Between Groups	1.100	1	1.100	.186	.667
	Within Groups	2508.806	424	5.917		
	Total	2509.906	425			
ASP	Between Groups	2.431	1	2.431	.576	.448
	Within Groups	1793.035	425	4.219		
	Total	1795.466	426			

$\alpha = 0.05$

The summary of ANOVA of differences in perceived sources of academic stress among the undergraduates based on age, as displayed on Table 8 above shows that there is no significant difference between younger and older undergraduates' perception of the sources of academic stress. The null hypothesis is therefore accepted.

4. Discussion of findings

The results of the study revealed that generally, the undergraduates perceive workload and examinations as the major source of stress, followed by academic self-perception and parental expectation respectively. Time management is perceived by the undergraduates as the least source of stress. Workload and examinations involve the course content and how the students and the lecturers go about it. Excessive workload in the form of homework, assignments, projects as well as the fear of not performing well in the examinations can make students tense. This results regarding workload and examinations as a major source of stress is in consonance with Misrah (2018), Ganesh et al (2012) and Yanik, Yan, Kani and Ferguson (2012) among others, who made findings that indicate that workload and examinations is a major threat to students. The findings also show that undergraduates in Physical Sciences had a significantly higher perception of workload and examinations and academic self-perception as sources of academic stress than undergraduates in Social Sciences. Undergraduates in Physical Sciences also reported a significantly higher perception of Parental expectation as a source of academic stress than those in the Faculties of Education and Social Sciences. This is an indication

that the students in Faculty of Physical science perceive work load and examination and parental expectation as more overwhelming compared to the students in the Faculties of Social Sciences and Education. Physical Science deals with the physical nature of the world such as rocks, weather, the stars, mathematical equations among others while Social Sciences and Education deal with issues that are closer to man such as history, economics, psychology, behaviour and related subjects. Stress is a subjective experience that is more likely to arise in some situations than others; this may be responsible for the differences observed among the undergraduates in the different Faculties. This finding is in consonance with Reddy et al (2018) who made findings that indicate streamline differences in level of stress. The findings also corroborate Aihie and Ohanaka(2019) and Anitei et al (2015). These studies found that students studying Physical Sciences had higher stress levels than students studying Social Sciences and Education (Aihie & Ohanaka, 2019) and that students studying Chemistry (which is a Physical Science) had higher stress levels than students studying Psychology (Anitei et al, 2015). The finding is however in contrast with Bataineh ((2013) who found no significant difference in stress levels among students from different areas of academic specialisation. There were no significant differences in the undergraduates' perception of time management as a source of academic stress. This result is in contrast with Yanik, Yan, Kaul and Ferguson (2016) who made findings that identify time management as a prominent theme in students' expression of sources of fear and anxiety. Also, the results of the study reveal that there is no significant difference in the perceived sources of stress among

students of different levels of study in the three Faculties. This result is in contrast with Aihie and Ohanaka (2019) who found that Final year students had the highest level of stress compared to other levels of study, Chemutai and Mulambu (2020) who found that third year students had the highest levels of stress compared to students in other levels and Onolemhenhen and Abel (2020) who also made findings that showed that stress levels were high in first year undergraduates, declined in students in the middle years and rose in the final year students. The results of the present study also showed no significant difference in the perceived sources of stress between younger and older undergraduates. This may be because students perceive academic stress the same way. The result corroborates Chemutai and Mulambula (2020) who made findings that indicate no significant influence of age on levels of academic stress but contrasts Aihie and Ohanaka (2019) who found that levels of academic stress decreases with increase in age among undergraduates.

5. Conclusion

The study has shown that workload and examinations is the greatest source of stress reported among the undergraduates. Undergraduates in the Faculty of Physical Sciences appear to significantly perceive workload and examinations, academic self-perception and parental expectation more as sources of stress than undergraduates in the Faculties of Education and Social Sciences while level of study and age had no influence on perceived sources of academic stress among the undergraduates. It is therefore concluded that the volume of academic work is the major source of academic stress among undergraduates irrespective of the level of study and age of the students.

6. Recommendations

From the results of this study, it can be deduced that workload and examinations is the major source of academic stress among the undergraduates. The Students' Guidance and Counselling Centre should therefore develop and implement strategies that target at helping students learn to cope with academic stress. Good study habits and skills should be specifically taught to help students, especially those in Physical Sciences learn to cope with excessive workload and examination.

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Effect of Games on Teaching Pronunciation on JSS Students' Achievement in Oral English in Imo State, Nigeria

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Abstract. This study was designed to examine the effects of games on teaching pronunciation on students' achievement in Oral English in Owerri Municipal Local Government Area of Imo State, Nigeria. The quasi experimental research design was adopted. Two hundred and twenty seven subjects were used for the study. Pronunciation Achievement Test (PAT) was used as pretest and posttest. The reliability of the instrument was estimated at 0.74 using Kuder Richardson formula 20 (KR-20). Three hypotheses were used to guide the study which were tested 0.05 level of significance. The study revealed that there was significant difference in the achievement of students taught pronunciation using games and those taught using drill. It also showed that there was no significant difference in achievement of male and female students taught using pronunciation games and those taught using drill, there was significant difference in achievement in Oral English among students of different school types taught using pronunciation games and those taught using the drill method. Based on the findings, it was concluded that the use of pronunciation games is more effective than the use of drill method. It was recommended among others that the English Language teachers should use language games in teaching students, so as to create varieties in their everyday task as well as arouse their interest in learning.

Keywords: Oral English, pronunciation games, drill.

1. Introduction

English language is one of the widely used languages in the world. It is used by most developed and economically developed countries in the world which has made it the second most spoken language in the world after Chinese (Ebernard, Gray & Charles, 2017). It is the language widely used in the internet.

All these have given English language the status of a world language. It has become a global language and the most studied language especially in countries where it was language on colonization such as Nigeria and Ghana.

Nigeria, a multi lingual nation has about five hundred (500) indigenous language. English language is used as an official medium of communication, a de facto lingua franca in Nigeria. As a lingua franca, it is the language of unification, the language of administration, law and diplomacy, world trade politics and intra and inter-ethnic medium of communication.

The English language occupies a central position in the school system. It is a core subject which is required for admission into higher institutions and for occupation and employment. It is a core subject from pre-primary to Lower Basic level and the language of instruction from Upper Basic to the tertiary level. This means that the Nigerian child's access to cultural and scientific knowledge of the world is largely through the English language. In line with this, the examination bodies such as the West African Examination Council (WAEC), the National Examination Council (NECO) and the Joint Admission Matriculation Board (JAMB) made English a core subject in their examinations. A critical analysis of West African Senior School Certificate results from 2012-2017 attest to poor performance of students in English language.

Many are of the view that secondary school leavers cannot speak English language correctly (Achebe, 2004, Eyisi, 2006 and Obiunu, 2019). This could be because Oral English is not given adequate attention in classroom teaching. This has caused students' inadequate exposure to Oral English as teachers pay more attention on the written form. Moreover,

English Language Paper 3 (Oral English) is in objective form. There is the need for emphasis to be laid on the teaching of Oral English. This is because good pronunciation skills give confidence and mastery to students as they communicate effectively inside and outside the classroom. One of the 21st century skills needed by the students to function effectively in the society is good communication skills. These are seen in students' writing and speech. There is need for students to be articulate in their speech and pronounce words correctly so that they can be understood since the essence of communication is for mutual intelligibility. The central role that English plays demands urgent effective ways through which it can be taught to enhance proficiency in its use.

Teachers therefore need to enhance their teaching in order to give learners with varied talents and abilities to acquire relevant skills. The speech aspects of the English language in the secondary school are called Oral English. This is an important paper (Paper 3) in West Africa School Certificate Examination. The skills needed for good performance in Oral English are not the exclusive monopoly of phoneticians. These skills are recognition of phonetic symbols, proper articulation of sounds, application of stress and intonation which are accessible to anyone who wishes to learn effectively to communicate a message to someone through speech.

Many language teachers neglect the listening and speaking skills and deficiency in any of these could affect one's proficiency in all. Unfortunately, many students are unable to acquire skills needed to perform well in Oral English. Cele-Murcia, Briton and Godwin (2010) see Oral English as the production of the sounds used to make meaning. To Richard (2017), it is the act or manner of speaking a word which has been generally agreed upon as a sequence of sounds for speaking a language. There are two major features of Oral English, which are segmental and supra-segmental features. Eyisi (2006) pointed out that Oral English seems to be the centre of our education woes and students generally have poor communication skills which could be one of the contributory factor for the falling standard of education in all areas of inquiry.

Teachers generally use the drill method (which is the conventional/traditional method) in teaching Oral English in English as a Second Language (ESL) classrooms. The use of drills is derived from the structuralists' approach to language learning that represents the view that language is systematic, discrete and describable in terms of contrastive

elements. The teacher has many drills such repetition drill, substitution drill, transformation drill at his/her disposal.

Language games can be additional aid at the disposal of the English Language teacher. A game is a form of play governed by certain rules or convention. Language games contribute to language proficiency by getting the learners to use language during the games. Pronunciation games are essential for promoting competence at the receptive and the productive levels of language learning (Byrne, 2000). Darfilal (2015) found that the use of games enhanced students' interest in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) class and students were motivated to learn and class was fun. Anyaegbu, Ting and Li (2012) investigated how the use of games could motivate, engage and arouse interest in their students. Their study found that the use of games motivated their students to learn English and brought about high achievement. Obiazu (2012) examined the effects of manual games on students' achievement in vocabulary. Results obtained showed that the use of games contributed immensely to students' achievement in learning English Language.

Some variables are identified as affecting students' achievement irrespective of the methods adopted by the teacher and these include among others sex and school type. Language acquisition theorists claim that female learners display more mastery of language learning proficiency (Ehrlich, 2001 and Ofuani, 2014). Adrienne and Benjamine (2014), Babalola and Oyinloye (2012) and Kiram and Sulaiman (2017) studies revealed that female students were more proficient in English Language than their male counterpart when exposed to effective methods. Zoghi, Kazemi and Kalen (2013) found that the difference between male and female students' achievements in English Language was not significant. Joseph (2012) and Ofuani (2014) found that school type had significant effects on students' achievements in language learning. However, Osa-Omoregie (2017) and Kang'ahi (2012) found no significant school type effects on students' language learning.

The purpose of this study was to find out the effects of games on teaching pronunciation on Junior Secondary School students' (JSS) achievement on Oral English in Owerri Municipal Local Government Area in Imo State, Nigeria. The study also sought to find the effects of sex and school type on students' achievement in Oral English.

2. Statement of the Problem

Students' performance in English Language in Senior Secondary School Examination (SSCE) has been on decline. This poor performance is a concern to parents, teachers, the government and even to the students. It is believed that if every aspect of English Language is properly taught, students' performance could improve. In Nigeria, Oral English has been relegated to the background as many students claim that it is not taught by their teachers. Elugbe (2006) opines that Oral English is introduced belatedly; even after it has been introduced its teaching lacks the use of appropriate strategies. Teachers also seem to neglect this aspect of the English Language probably because they do not think of it as an important aspect in the teaching and learning of English Language. Many teachers seem not understand the rudiments of effective teaching of Oral English. Could this negligence be one of the reasons why students perform poorly in speaking good English? If Oral English is properly taught using well known strategies, could this enhance the overall performance of students in English? Will the use of pronunciation games in English Language classrooms make learning more effective and the class livelier? Will it help the teacher to develop fun ways of teaching Oral English? Will pronunciation games make students more attentive and active in English Language classrooms? Therefore, this study intends to find out the effects of pronunciation games on students' achievement in Oral English.

3. Hypotheses

To carry out this study, three hypotheses were raised and tested at 0.05 level of significance:

- There is no significant difference in the achievement in Oral English of students taught using pronunciation games and those taught using the drill method.
- There is no significant difference in the achievement in Oral English of male and female students taught using pronunciation games and those taught with the drill method.
- There is no significant difference in the achievement in Oral English among students of different school type taught using pronunciation game and those taught using drill method.

4. Method of the Study

The study was a quasi-experimental design which used a non-randomized pre-test, post-test control group using a 2 x 2 x 3 factorial design. A sample of two hundred and seventy two (272) JSS II students

drawn from a population of two thousand and twenty seven (2,027) students that was used. The stratified random sampling technique was used. First, public schools were divided into strata (all boys, all girls and coeducational). One school from each stratum was selected. Two intact classes were randomly selected from each school. One class was used as the experimental group while the other was used as the control group. The schools were labelled as I, II and III, and the two intact classes were labelled A and B. The subjects in class A made up of the experimental group and were taught with the selected pronunciation games (odd-one-out, minimal pair, slap and rhyming pair memory games). While the subjects in class B made up the control group and were taught with the drill method.

The instrument for data collection was Pronunciation Achievement Test (PAT) developed by the researchers. PAT was made up of two parts (Sections A and B). Section A solicited bio data information from the respondents, Section B was made up of twenty multiple choice objective test items comprising of short vowels, long vowels and plosive consonant sounds. The students were required to underline the appropriate options from the options provided. PAT was first used as pre-test and reshuffled and used as the post-test.

To ensure the validity of the instrument, a table of specification was used. This was to ensure that all the items in the instrument aligned with the skills associated pronunciation learning and also to test all levels of knowledge. To ensure the reliability of PAT, it was trial tested on twenty (20) JSSII students in a school that was not part of the study. The scores obtained from the administration of this test was estimated using Kuder Richardson Formula 20 (KR-20) and a reliability coefficient of 0.74 was obtained.

4.1 Method of Data Collection

The pre-test was administered by the researchers with the help of the class teachers on the first day of interaction. The researchers explained part A of the pre-test to the students. The instrument was collected after the stipulated time on the same day. The post-test was administered (six weeks) after the administration of the pre-test) on the last day of treatment session and collected immediately after.

Mean, standard deviation and ANCOVA (Analysis of Covariance) were used. Also, Post Hoc Analysis was carried out using Scheffe's Test (for hypothesis three). All hypotheses were tested at 0.05 level of significance.

5. Results

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant difference in Oral English achievement of students taught using pronunciation games and those taught with drill method.

Table 1: Summary of Mean and Standard Deviation of Pre-test and Post-test Scores of Students Taught Oral English with Different Method

Method	N	Pre-Test		Post-Test		Difference Between Pre-Test and Post-Test Mean Gain
		Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	
Games	140	9.51	2.154	15.57	2.357	6.06
Drill	132	9.73	2.296	12.27	2.442	2.54
Total	272	9.62	2.222	13.97	2.911	4.35

Table 1 shows that the Pretest mean score of students taught with the drill method was higher (9.73) than those taught with games (9.51), while for the posttest mean score of student taught with games was higher (15.57) than those taught with Drill (12.27). Table 1, however, shows that there were mean gains across the two methods. Students in the experimental group taught using Games at pretest and posttest means of (9.51 and 15.57) respectively and had a higher mean score gain of (6.06). The students in the control group taught using Drill had pretest and posttest mean scores of ((.73 and 12.27) respectively and had a lower mean gain of (2.54).

To determine if there was significant difference in students' achievement in Oral English, Univariate Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) was used because there were differences in the mean scores of both the experimental and the control group in the pre-test. The summary of analyses is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of ANCOVA for the Effects of Methods with Scores of Pre-test Achievement Test in Oral English as the Dependent Variable

Source	Type III Sum of Square	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	9.45.840	2	472.920	94.174	.000
Intercept	1414.812	1	1414.812	281.735	.000
Pre-Test	203.143	1	203.143	40.452	.000
Method	781.082	1	781.082	155.538	.000
Error	1350.865	269	5.022		
Total	55357.000	272			
Corrected Total	2296.702	271			

Table 2 shows method effect of $F(1, 269) = 781.082$, $p = .000$, testing at an alpha level of 0.05, the p-value of .000 is less than the alpha level of 0.05 showing significance. So hypothesis 1 which states that there is no significant difference in the achievement of students taught pronunciation with Games and those taught with the Drill method was rejected. It was concluded that there was a significant method effect on students achievement in Oral English with those taught using Games performing better than those taught with drill.

Hypothesis 2: There is no significant difference in Oral English achievement of male and female students taught using pronunciation Games and those taught using drill. The descriptive statistics of students classified by method by gender are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Mean and Standard Deviation for the Effects of Method by Sex on Students' Achievement in Oral English

Method		N	Pre-Test		Post-Test	
			Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Games	Male	70	9.47	2.363	15.29	2.560
	Female	70	9.54	1.934	15.89	2.115
	Total	140	9.51	2.154	15.57	2.357
Drills	Male	63	9.65	2.186	12.16	2.457
	Female	69	9.81	2.403	12.36	2.443
	Total	132	9.73	2.295	12.27	2.442

Table 3 shows that male students in the experimental group taught using Games have pre-test and post-test mean scores of 9.47, 15.29 and standard deviation of 2.363 and 2.560 respectively, While the female students have pre-test and post-test mean scores of 9.54 and 15.89 with standard deviation of 1.934 and 2.115 respectively. This shows that the female students in the group taught with games outperformed the males in both pre-test and post-test.

The table also shows that the male students in the group taught using drill (control group) have pre-test and post-test mean scores of 9.65 and 12.16 with standard deviation of 2.186 and 2.457 respectively, the female students have pre-test and post-test mean scores of 9.81 and 12.36 with standard deviation of 2.403 and 2.442 respectively. This also shows that the female students in the group taught with Drill performed better than their male counterparts.

To determine whether the difference in the mean scores of male and female students taught using Games (male: 15.29, female: mean = 15.89) and those taught with Drills (male: 12.16, female: mean = 12.36) were statistically significant, ANCOVA was used because there were differences in the mean scores of male and female students taught using THE different methods. This is summarized in Table 4.

Table 4: Summary of ANCOVA Analysis of the Mean Effect on Sex on Students' Achievement in Oral English

Source	Type III Sum of Square	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	160.930 ^a	2	84.965	10.747	.000
Intercept	1544.342	1	1544.342	195.333	.000
Pre-Test	163.065	1	163.065	20.625	.000
Sex	5.171	1	5.171	.654	.419
Error	2126.773	269	7.906		
Total	55357.000	272			
Corrected Total	2296.702	271			

a. R square = .074, adjusted R square = .067

Table 4 shows sex effect of $F(1, 269) = .654$, $P = .419$ testing at an alpha level of 0.05, the p-value (.419) is higher than the alpha level. These results suggest that sex has no significant effect on students' achievement in Oral English. Therefore, hypothesis 2 which states that there is no significant difference in the achievement of male and female students taught pronunciation with games and those taught with drill method is retained.

Hypothesis 3: There is no significant difference in achievement in Oral English among students of different school types taught using pronunciation games and those taught with the drill method.

The descriptive statistics of students, classified by method and school type are presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Mean and Standard Deviation for the Effect of School Type on Achievement

Methods	School Type	N	Pre-Test		Post-Test	
			Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation
Games	All Boys	44	9.50	2.538	14.32	2.409
	All Girls	43	8.98	1.871	14.77	1.810
	Coed	53	9.94	1.955	17.26	1.619

	Total	140	9.51	2.154	15.57	2.357
Drill	All Boys	31	9.19	1.922	11.06	1.787
	All Girls	37	9.35	2.519	11.69	1.872
	Coed	64	10.22	2.257	13.19	2.665
	Total	132	9.73	2.295	12.27	2.443

Table 5 shows that in the group taught with games, students from all boys' school have pre-test and post-test mean scores of 9.50, 14.32 and standard deviation of 2.538, 2.409 respectively. Those from all girls have pre-test and post-test mean scores of 8.98, 14.77 and standard deviation of 1.871 and 1.810 respectively while those from coeducational have pre-test and post-test mean scores of 9.94, 17.26 and standard deviation of 1.955 and 1.619 respectively. This shows that the students from all boys school performed better than those from all girls and coeducational school in pre-test. While with the post-test scores, students from coeducational school in the group taught with games performed better than those from all boys and all girls' schools. Table 5 also shows that the group taught with drill, students from all boys' school have pre-test and post-test mean scores of 9.19, 11.06 and standard deviation 1.922, 1.787 respectively. Those from all girls' school have pre-test and post-test mean scores of 9.35, 11.68 and standard deviation of 2.519 and 1.872 respectively. Also, students from coeducation school have the mean scores of 10.22, 13.19 and standard deviation of 2.257 and 2.665 respectively. This shows that students in coeducational school in the group taught with drill outperformed the students from all boys and all girls schools in both the pre-test and post-test.

To determine if there were significant differences of main effect of school type on students' achievement, the data collected from the 272 respondents were analysed using ANCOVA because there were differences in the mean scores of students taught using different method at pre-test. This is summarized in Table 6.

Table 6: Summary of ANCOVA of Main Effect on School Type on Students' Achievement in Oral English

Source	Type III Sum of Square	df	Mean Square	f	Sig.
Corrected Model	144.191 ^a	3	114.730	15.748	.000
Intercept	1643.946	1	1643.946	225.647	.000
Pre-Test	105.186	1	105.186	14.438	.000
School Type	179.433	2	89.716	12.314	.000
Error	1952.511	268	7.285		
Total	55357.000	272			
Corrected Total	2296.702	271			

^a R square = .150 (Adjusted R squared = .140)

Table 6 shows that the main effect of school type is $F(2, 268) = 12.314$, $P = .000$. Testing at an alpha value of 0.05, the p-value (.000) is less than the alpha level (0.05), this shows significance. Therefore, the hypothesis which states that there is no significance in achievement in Oral English among students of different school types taught using pronunciation games and those taught with the drill method is rejected. Consequently, there is significant main effect of school type on students' achievement in Oral English.

To determine the direction of significance among the three school types, a post-hoc analysis was conducted using Scheffe's multiple comparison since the subjects in three groups (75, 80 and 155) were unequal. The result is summarized in Table 7.

Table 7: Scheffe's Post-hoc Analysis for the Direction of Significance Based on School Type Effect on Students' Achievement in Oral English

(i) School Type	(J) School Type	Mean Difference	Std Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
	All Girls	-.3642	.4453	.715	-.7300	.7300
All Boys	Coed.	-2.0609 ^a	.40911	.000	3.0679	-1.0539
	All Boys	-.3642	.44453	.715	-.7300	1.4584
All Girls	Coed.	-1.6967 ^a	.40125	.000	-2.6843	.7090
Coed.	All Boys	2.0609	.40911	.000	1.0539	3.0679
	All Girls	1.6967 ^a	.40125	.000	.7090	2.6843

Based on observed means: The error term is mean square (Error) = 7.649

**The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.*

In Table 7, two mean differences were found to be significant at 0.05 level, namely, the mean difference between coeducational school and all boys' school (mean difference = 2.06) and that between coeducational school and all girls' school (mean difference = 1.67). The difference between the mean scores of coeducational and all boys cannot be lower than 1.05 and can be as high as 3.07. Similarly, the difference between coeducational and all girls cannot be lower than .71 and can be as high as 2.68.

6. Discussion

The findings for hypothesis one in this study revealed that students taught with pronunciation games performed significantly better than students taught with drill. The use of pronunciation games involve students carrying out collaborative team work, which has many features associated with effective instruction such as interactive dialogue and demonstration, role play and think-pair-share strategies. The use of pronunciation games gave students the opportunity to collaborate, where students with high and moderate abilities supported those with low pronunciation skills through constructive group activities and brainstorming.

Furthermore, the students exhibited high enthusiasm in learning the task presented; learning was fun. The students also had competitive spirit. The findings of this study substantiated the claims of Anyaegbu, Ting and Li (2012), Obiazu (2012) and Darfilal (2015). These researchers pointed out that the use of games in teaching motivated students to learn. The better performance of students taught using games could be attributed to the fact that it is a student-centred method which is essential for developing learners' command of the sound system of the target language. This brings about lively classroom environment that enhances achievement in learning.

The findings for hypothesis two revealed that sex had no effect on students' achievement in Oral English. However, it is generally believed that female students

are more proficient in language learning than their male counterparts but this was not the case in this study. The result of this study is in consonance with the findings of Zoghi, Kazemi and Kalan (2013) who reported that sex has no significant influence on academic performance of students in English language. The findings of this study is at variance with the findings of Adrienne and Benjamin (2014), Babalola and Oyinloye (2012) who opined that female students are more proficient in English Language than their male counterparts.

The findings of hypothesis three revealed that school type has significant effect on students' performance in Oral English, with students in coeducational schools performing better than students in all-boys and all-girls schools. This is contrary to expectation where it is believed that students from all-girls school would perform better in Oral English than students from all-boys and coeducational schools. The finding of this study is in agreement with the findings of Kanlayanee (2012) who found that students in coeducational schools perform better than those in single-sex schools. Ofuani's (2014) study, although in support of the influence of school type on students' performance in English is at variance with this study as she found out that students in all girls schools performed better than students in all boys and coeducational schools. This finding is not in agreement with the findings of Kang'ahi (2012), Joseph (2012) and Osa-Omoregie (2017) who found no significant effect of school type on students' achievement in English Language.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the findings, it was concluded that the use of pronunciation games is more effective than the drill method in the teaching of Oral English. It was also concluded that sex has no effect on students' performance in Oral English. School type has significant effect on students' performance in Oral English with students in coeducational schools performing best.

It was recommended among others that:

- Teachers should teach Oral English as they teach other component areas of the language.
- Teachers should use games in teaching pronunciation in order to arouse students' interest in learning.
- Curriculum planners should revisit English language curriculum with a view of developing student-centred and activity orientated curriculum, which will enhance students' active participation in teaching/learning process.
- Teachers' knowledge should be updated through inservice training, seminars and workshops.

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Part Four

Social Psychology



Oral Traditions and the Promotion of Unity, Security, Law and Order in Nigeria

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Abstract. This paper seeks to present the view that oral traditions, because of its importance as source of African history, can be an important intellectual tool for the promotion of national security, maintenance of law and order in the nation state. This is to achieve a thorough empirical research on the oral traditions of different Nigerian peoples. The expectation is to re-establish and re-order our perception of others and ourselves through the new histories in a more objective manner; thereby enshrining a renewed sense of genuine self-identification and collective group awareness, unity and solidarity between peoples and social groups in Nigeria. The contention is that oral traditions have both the essential qualities and potentialities of providing the real identities of different groups, their relationship and interaction in historical context. By extension, this could also be the important datum to use as the base for identifying areas of connections, similarities and dissimilarities as a significant parameter in preventing tensions and disorder, enhancing social unity and cohesion amongst the different peoples of Nigeria. This is a position that is tenable given the resources and commitment to maintaining objective and purposeful researches. The work derives its conclusions from narration, description and analysis of historical sources.

Keywords: Oral, Traditions, History, Security, Law and Order

1. Introduction

There are important concepts, which ought to be clarified in this paper. First, it is important to note that we are dealing with oral traditions, which are no longer contemporary and have passed from mouth to mouth, for a period beyond the lifetime of the

informants (Finnegan 1970; Vansina 1985). In other words, oral traditions are verbal messages as reported statements from the past beyond the present generation such as traditions of origin, which also include legends, myths, songs, rituals and installation ceremonies (Vansina 1985). These oral traditions differ from one another and even from the various versions of the traditions of the same group. The subsequent presentation examines the significance of oral traditions as sources of history that could help to promote Nigerian national unity, security, order and rule of law.

Second, Nigerian security perspective in this paper is seen from the standpoint of national unity, particularly from what Jega (2007) considered as a holistic conception. Thus:

Nigeria's National Security objectives can essentially, be defined in terms of the protection and defense of the country's territorial integrity, promotion of peaceful coexistence in the polity, containing/eliminating threats to internal security, ensuring systemic stability and bringing about sustainable socioeconomic development.

Furthermore, he elaborated, that:

In other words, in broad terms Nigeria's security objectives can be itemized as consisting the following concerns: peace and stability; ethno-religious/communal harmony; peaceful coexistence; food security; sustainable socioeconomic development; and democratic development; which involves strengthening the rule of law; creating a democratic political culture; nurturing civility; promoting good governance, transparency and accountability; facilitating institutional and structural reforms amenable to democratisation (Jega 2007).

After an exhaustive critical discourse of the concept of national security, Okpaga agrees with Jega in a concise manner that:

As a concept, it should be seen to refer to the stability of a nation to protect its internal values from external attacks. But in a wider sense, it applies to the national interest of a state, which must include political, socio-economic stability as well as defense and scientific development (Okpaga 2007).

Of course, other scholars in their varied assessments of Nigerian national security, law and order share this enlightened position (Alemika 2007). Intrinsically, therefore, the maintenance of law and order are the manifest and effectual derivative responsibilities of the agents and agencies of internal security network such as courts, police and the public. Therefore, the resultant effectiveness and impact of these mainly internal agents of national security is measured by the stability of the internal security situation. An essential condition for the conception of dynamic policy provisions, which provides the practical and concurrent functional external security environment. This is because of the over whelming dual significance of the national human and material factors as requisite variables in the evaluation, categorization of the degree and level of the internal security situation of the nation. Then it becomes of strategic national interest to make comprehensive database, with a historical knowledge profile of individuals, groups and peoples as a platform for promoting national identity and awareness. This is actually an intelligent and enlightened approach to a better-managed internal security, which if well taken will promote a more stable and focused national security framework.

Thus, the imperative of the use of oral traditions in Nigeria to promote national security lies in its importance as one of the authentic, widely assessable and acceptable germane source of different peoples' histories. The acquisition of such a compendium of histories is an urgent national priority, particularly when objectively and empirically employed in addressing issues of national importance. Hence, the object is for a comprehensive database of individuals, groups and peoples' identities, relations and interrelations since pre-colonial to most contemporary period to date suffices. This will establish our societies' first point of reference in solving relevant national problems and promoting aspirations-such as conflicts, conflict resolution and management as well as social mobilization for achieving set national goals and objectives. As such, oral tradition presents peculiar qualities and unique characteristics as an intellectual and practical asset

for the effective and efficient management of the Nigerian societies and peoples' needs and aspirations embedded in their backgrounds, relations and interrelations. By extension and implication, if successfully organized and documented, then information from oral tradition will make it much easier to position most of the citizenry towards the required national goals for a stable, progressive and sustainable social, political and economic development as a panacea for a sound national security, law and order in Nigeria.

2. Uses of Oral Traditions in Promoting Nigerian Unity, Security, Law and Order

There are specific and general parameters of the use of oral traditions for promoting national security in the Nigerian nation state. In specific terms, it involves the intrinsic use primarily of oral traditions as a means of gathering, documenting and utilisation of the information for a better-informed policy decisions and solution on national issues including security. In general, it deals with the use of oral traditions in a collaborative, correlative, contextual and multidisciplinary manner that will provide a solid base for comprehensive research discourse and outputs. This is significant because of the neglect and in fact deliberate attempt by external powers and government of Nigeria to undermine the teaching of history in schools. The apparent dearth of historical knowledge, consciousness and conscience in the country, particularly deriving from oral traditions, suggests an urgent need to do so in the national interest. This is because a country that does not treasure its history is definitely on the brink of a gross loss of its national identity and memory. Moreover, such knowledge is crucial for creating the necessary national awareness, group solidarity and collective sense of togetherness needed for national cohesion and peaceful coexistence. Thus, overlooking the vital importance of oral tradition as source of historical information that can be employed to help raise awareness and prevent conflict between groups. In this regard, oral tradition is seen as a significant means of gathering and storing original information about Nigerian societies, which can be used to better the societies individually and collectively through the lessons of the past about the hows and whys past problems were solved or even prevented from happening.

Therefore, it will not be an over emphasis to state that the collection and documentation of the oral traditions of most peoples of Nigeria is long overdue. This is in the sense that a thorough collection of the oral traditions of the Nigerian peoples will fill in the

existing gap of not only the lack of documented history of many communities in the country, but also the loss of vital information from the death of a host of generations of informants. An ongoing process of elimination that denies us the privileges and advantages associated with the conservation of our vital national historical heritage. The proposed conservation measure will also promote a purposeful drive towards these neglected histories and bringing about new knowledge of identities and realities as well as establishing the different forms of historical affinities of Nigerian peoples in historical times. In this way, it is expected that concordant social bonds will be established and promoted rather than present cultivation of discord and disorder.

Examples of such an assertion is classically imbedded in traditions of origin of some Nigerian societies, such as the legends of Saif bin Dhi Yazan said to be the founder of the Saifuwa dynasty of Kanem-Borno, Bayajida also said to be the founder of the Hausa *Bakwai* and *Banza Bakwai* city-states and the Oduduwa myth of creation among the Yoruba. These traditions have not been fully explored of their historical contents. Nonetheless, they now at least present a common rallying point for the different concerned groups' identities and largely act as an important reference point for self-projection of these societies in the Nigerian enterprise (Smith 1987; Hallam 1966; Smith 1970; Smith 1971; Smith 1983; Lange 2004). Therefore, when the examination and analyses of other national legends are made professionally, it will add new historical information about the other peoples of Nigeria and it will be an asset to our national knowledge base, which could be used for the promotion of peace (Smith 1987; Atanda 1980). Furthermore, an extensive assessment and objective interpretation of these legends is imperative. More so, as they specifically speak of historical narratives of times since 'the beginnings', after the original culture-founders had departed their earthly lives to assume positions of spiritual advisers, an aspect that is still beclouded in mystery. However, the humanisation of these legends by linking them to human progenies, who are currently identified as ruling houses, dynasties, priests and title-holders deeply involved in the actual running of their societies speaks a lot about a yet to be decoded intellectual history of pre-colonial Nigeria. Indeed, it also pinpoints to the historical mindset that provided the base for the self-sufficiency of pre-colonial Nigerian societies (Stevens 1978; Smith 1987; Lange 2004; Abubakar 1996).

Although, some of such traditional stories are popularly regarded as historical even though

unauthenticated (Henige 1971; 1974; 1982), nonetheless, by using the proper techniques and processing of oral data, original and authentic information could be derived from custom, opinion or belief handed down to posterity especially orally or by practice (Curtins 1968; Stevens 1975; Sutton 1979; Ajayi 1980; Newbury 1007). These include the process of handing down established practice or custom as well as literary principles based on experience and practice, theological doctrine or a particular doctrine that claimed to have divine authority without documentary evidence. This is especially apparent in the oral teachings such as that of Christ and the Apostles, the laws held by the Pharisees to have been delivered by God to Moses, the words and deeds i.e. the *Sunnah* and *Hadith* of Muhammad (SAW) not in the Qur'an (Vasina 1985; Vasina 1990; Afigbo 1978). In our context, one could add the incantations of the traditional priest (i.e. *Babalawo*, *Bagobira* of *Bori* cult or *tsafi*), medicine men, praise songs of the hunters, blacksmith and local barbers, installation ceremonies and ritual rites of different Nigerian, indeed African groups (Parrinder 1976; Denyer 1978:52-53).

In the same regards, we may mention myth as another important aspect of oral history, which originally is derived from the Greek word *mythos*, meaning that branch of knowledge, which is indisputable, not subject to rational argument-as distinct from *logos* (Stevens 1987; Levi-Strauss 1964). Myth is mostly made up of traditional narratives usually involving supernatural or imaginary persons and embodying popular ideas on natural and social phenomena. These include narrations collectively that are widely held but involved the use of false notions, fictitious person, things or ideas in the form of allegories, wise sayings, riddles and jokes as coded behavioral and attitudinal orientation messages. Similar to the platonic myth – mythology – i.e. as a body of myths (as in the Greek mythology), the Yoruba myth of creation and the *Mune* as a *talisman* in the emergence of the Seifuwa dynasty in Kanem-Borno etc. Nonetheless, myths held an important sway over the traditions and cultural history of people so affected and influenced a lot more, which can only be known and appreciated if decoded and a proper factual interpretation no matter how bizarre is presented as done in some cases (Lange 2004; Newbury 2007).

Ritual is 'rites of installation of kings... tied to annual rites of renewal in the kingdom and were charters for privileges of particular local groups involved in these rituals...' (Vasina 1985:99; Lange 2004:166-179). Therefore, ritual is a prescribed order

of performing rites, involves procedure regularly followed or done as rites. It also involves installation ceremony as the act or an instance of installing personality with some responsibility or role. Where the ceremony is associated with ritual, it assumes a formal religious or public occasion, especially celebrating a particular event or anniversary. In addition, it refers to formalities, especially of an empty or ritualistic kind. No wonder, despite the spate of nationalism and democratisation, still traditional institutions and social-political titles assumes significance and relevance. This is whether it is political titles like the Mai, Oba, Obi, Sarki or Emir and Shehu or social titles such as *Malam* or *Alimi*, *Babalawo* or *Boka*, who usually must have under gone certain formalities of bestowment or installation rituals rights going back into classical ancestry of the respective groups.

It is also important to stress the significance of song categorized to include poetry, epic, chant and other verse forms, which are not subject to restrictions of the sort that govern myth, but are records of the times with more information (Stevens 1978). In other words, short poem or other set of words set to music or meant to be sung. These include singing or vocal music, a musical composition suggestive of a song, the musical cry of some birds, a short poem in rhythmic stanzas and archaic poetry verse.

In the light of the above conceptualization and in general terms the subsequent analysis is to show the significance of Onomastics such as toponyms, anthroponyms and hydronyms to the study of oral traditions. However, it must be made clear that Onomastics is the science of the study of names, which is first a linguistic field of study. However, as a means of academic pursuit for knowledge it touches and covers all disciplines such as history, geography, anthropology, demography etc. In the context of Nigerian indeed African history, it is used as a linguistic method in the study of historical sources, namely the oral traditions of Nigerian peoples. This is advocated as a positive scientific multi-disciplinary approach in the study and reconstruction of the uncharted and muddled field of African oral history. The assertion of the significance and potentiality of this field of studying African history using a linguistic scientific method is clear as advocated by Vansina (1973) and by Diagne (1981). However, in our regional and sub-regional context, the works that relates to this theme and the area of study are on toponyms, namely Gouffe (1967), Greene (1969), Sa'ad (1987), Ibrizimow (1991) and Rothmaler (2003).

In this light, it is necessary to state that this field of multidisciplinary study establishes a methodological approach that allows for the retrieval of more information about our societies. It therefore, adds new historical information from oral traditions and other related disciplines like linguistic. Moreover, it also makes it possible for more plausible interpretation of migratory processes and establishment of habitat as well as complimenting in filling the gap between written and oral sources- thereby bringing about unity in diversity of these different sources of African studies. Therefore, toponyms are designated to place names like towns, lands, while patronyms are those places with personal names of historical figures. These represent one of the reference keys that languages offer for detecting historical contacts, convergences and influences (Diagne 1981; Pamp 2000; Caprini 2000). In the same regards, patronyms are personal names relating to certain historical happenings connected with historical figures, which when correctly detected and analysed will be of great significance in comparative study. Such as between seeming Islamic or Arabic and non-Islamic/Non- Arabic names based on the rendering of the "original" Islamic/Arabic names. (Ibrizimow 1996:97:1991; Lange 2004). In addition, anthroponomy and hydronyms are the names of rivers, lakes etc. derived from certain historical identification based on directional or geo-spatial considerations and socio-economic significance. This encapsulated information could be explored and explained through a thorough research of oral traditions in the area(s) concerned. All these are very important ways in deriving extensive information, which are of practical utilities to other disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, linguistics, geography, political science, economic history etc.

3. Conclusion

It is apt to state that the above submission is actually a preliminary discourse of an overview possible utility value of the research, collection and documentation of oral traditions of Nigerian peoples as a means of promoting national security, law and order. It will in fact be effective, valuable when fully realized, first, in the establishment of grand interdisciplinary approach, multidisciplinary methodology, and sound analyses of the expected empirically objective knowledge based on historical information about the people of Nigeria. Such a strategic and classified national knowledge base data will not only serve as a means of creating national awareness, unity and solidarity, but also for identifying possible weak links, from past explosive experiences as threats to national cohesion

beforehand. It will also make it possible to predict trends of events, thereby proffering resolution or restitution measures from our historical experience before the situation explodes into conflagration. The hope again, is to enrich historical knowledge to enable the creation of the enabling environment and atmosphere that stabilizes the internal security situation. This will have to be through strategizing of policies for promoting peaceful coexistence, rule of law and orderly function of a united Nigerian society from the local to the national levels or from the bottom to the top. To have such a reservoir of a deep-rooted down to earth societal knowledge with a popular proactive setting and acceptance, which connects the societies together we ought to get a genuine all encompassing panacea. The best option is the use of oral traditions as advocated above in pursuit of our history as the source of national unity, peace and prosperity.

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Breaking Silence on Spousal Battery during Covid-19 Pandemic Era: A Case Study of Lagos State, Nigeria

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Abstract. Spousal battery is generally considered the commonest form of domestic violence. It is a form of physical assault involving the use of force, violence or threat of violence against one's spouse. The study attempts to provide an analysis on the prevalence and impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on spousal battery during the lockdown, and the challenges confronting mediation and administration of criminal justice of spousal battery in Lagos State. The study examines the record of reported cases made through the telephone helpline during the lockdown. The study also adopted the purposive sampling method to capture respondents for the key informant interview (KII) conducted. Results show prevalence and steady increase of spousal battery during the lockdown. While men were also victims of spousal battery, women were however potentially more victims. Among the major challenges confronting mediation and administration of criminal justice in cases of spousal battery are underreporting and under prosecution associated with a myriad of problems accounting for adjournment and withdrawal of cases in court. Following this, the study recommends that society should exhibit zero tolerance to spousal battery. Law enforcement agencies like the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), the Court, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the media should champion the promotion of public sensitization and awareness of the laws prohibiting the crime, encourage victims to speak out, report the crime to appropriate authorities and assist victims to press for legal charges in court. Government should also show more commitment in decongesting the Domestic Violent Court and Citizen's Mediation Centre of civil cases like spousal battery and the provision of free treatment, as well as counseling and rehabilitation, to victims.

Keywords: Breaking Silence, Spousal Battery, Covid-19, Pandemic Era, Lagos State.

1. Introduction

More than five million people are known to have died of Covid-19 World-Wide. But experts believe that the pandemic's real global death toll could be two or three times higher than the official figures partly because of the underreported cases of Covid-19 related deaths at homes and those in rural communities (WHO, cited in the Guardian Newspaper Article of 2nd November, 2021). In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, a national lockdown was announced in Nigeria as a response to the rapid spread of the corona virus. While many states in Nigeria implemented a stay-at-home order differently, in most cases, individuals were expected to stay indoors except for essential activities such as obtaining food items, medical treatment or for work in essential businesses. With the stay-at-home order in Lagos State, schools and many business organizations, including shops, restaurants and club houses were shut down. Churches, mosques as well as all gatherings like sporting events and concerts were banned. These and other forms of restrictions in Lagos State, during the first and second phases of the lockdown represented the most extreme measures put in place by the Lagos State government to curtail the spread of the Covid-19 virus. Other measures imposed by the Presidential Task Force (PTF) along with stay-at-home order include, nationwide curfew; ban on interstate movement except for food items, petroleum products and essential services; closure of international airports; and observing the protocols such as wearing of face masks and hand washing/sanitizing practices, which were made compulsory in public places.

Since the Covid-19 pandemic stay-at-home order of the government, media reports have shown that domestic violence is almost becoming a permanent feature of our daily life (Tijani, 2021 in Guardian Newspaper, Novenber,29 2021). The worrisome issue about the increasing cases of media reports of domestic violence is the increasing nature of the violent assaults and fatalities recorded against women. Globally, before Covid-19, studies show that 30% of women had experienced physical or sexual violence by their spouse in their lifetime (Gearhart et al, 2018).

Domestic Violence is one of the most common forms of violence against women and children in homes, and it includes physical violence such as battery, sexual and emotional abuses such as verbal insults, harassment, humiliation, intimidation, threat of harm, harm, and threat to take away children, neglect of home and not taking economic responsibility of children (Akoni and Alu, 2021).

In Nigeria, spousal battery is generally recognized as the most widespread form of domestic violence. The scourge of spousal battery is very worrisome because of the fatalities and emotional trauma involved. While men are sometimes victims of spousal battery, married women are potentially more as victims (Johnson and Das, 2009). Reports have shown that 50% of Nigeria women have experienced being battered by their husbands at one time or another and unbelievably, more educated women (65%) are in this terrible situation as compared to their low income counterparts (Ogunmola, 2019). The negative effects of spousal battery cannot be downplayed because of the attendant health implication on the wellbeing of the women. Spousal battery is the major cause of disability and death among married women with aggressive or abusive spouses (UNPF, 2001).

The legal definition of spousal battery is any willful and unlawful touching of one's spouse in a way that is harmful or offensive. In Nigeria, under the Violence Against Persons Prohibition Act (VAPPA, 2015), the perpetrator can be convicted of domestic violence even if the "victim "does not sustain any physical harm or injury from the physical assault. The act is punishable by law, if proven. All that is required is the proof that the perpetrator actually assaulted his or her spouse using physical "force," "violence" or "threat of violence" against him or her. Cases of spousal battery are mostly incidents of gender-based violence where perpetrators consciously use force, violence or threat of violence as a mechanism for subordination. Especially, where patriarchal culture exists, it is often, and

unlawfully used to demonstrate and enforce the man's position as head of the household.

In the developing countries, especially Nigeria, spousal battery is not peculiar as trends of spousal battery are sadly unabated around the world. Yet, it remains largely underreported due to negligence, silence, fear, stigma and shame that surround it (DSVRT, 2020). This is why majority of women whose say they were assaulted, beaten, humiliated and traumatized by their spouses, (fall within the legal definition of spousal battery or domestic violence) do not still regard what has happened to them as gender violence and criminal offence on the part of their spouses (DSVRT,2020). African women, especially Nigerian women, tend to endure being battered by their spouse because they want to stay married for the fear of being stigmatized. There is also the fear of being framed 'the woman who convicted her husband' by friends, relatives and neighbours (NAN, 2015).

Over and above this, even though studies on violence against women have often been limited to sexual violence but for the purpose of this study we shall primarily restrict ourselves to spousal battery because spousal battery is unfortunately the commonest form of domestic violence. Following this, this paper shall attempt to provide some analysis on the rate of prevalence of spousal battery during the first and second phases of the Covid-19 lockdown in Lagos (between March and October 2020) and the challenges confronting mediation and administration of criminal justice in the prosecution of spousal battery in Lagos State. To address this, the study shall examine the record of reported cases of telephone helpline calls of spousal battery during the first and second phases of the Covid-19 lockdown in Lagos State, with a view to determining:

- The rate of prevalence and impact of Covid-19 stay-at-home- order on spousal battery.
- The challenges confronting the mediation and administration of criminal justice in the prosecution of spousal battery in Lagos State.

2. Theoretical Framework

Since the global awareness of the increasing spate of violence against women, much of the discussions about domestic violence against women has attracted contentious debate among feminist scholars concerning what constitutes a domestic violence or and which theoretical framework best explains it. Hence, this has influenced the appreciable application of feminist theory. Some feminist theorists argue that

patriarchal gender relation theory inevitably remains central to the understanding of how patriarchal societal institutions has influenced violence against women (Gray,1982) and why majority of women who are violently beaten by their spouses don't like to report this crime to appropriate government agencies or seek legal redress.

Feminist movements originated in the 18th Century England. But by the 20th Century, the myriad of women agitations and protests spurred the liberal feminist movements in the United States, France and other parts of Europe (Afonja, 2005). Initially, they were concerned with gender discrimination and the nature of inequality embedded in patriarchal-gender relation. It was on the strength of their campaign against gender discrimination and inequality that they "ambitiously" conceived of Gender Based Violence (GBV) as a form of violence against intimate partners. Violence against intimate partners commonly occurs in a domestic space where one person especially the male partner holds power over the spouse. From this point, the feminist sociologists took over the debate of what constitute physical, verbal, emotional and sexual conducts that suggest violence against women. Their argument is that "the history of patriarchal societal institutions is a history of repeated violence, injuries and usurpation on the part of men toward women, with impunity and direct impact of absolute tyranny" (Gray,1982).

In contrast to the pragmatic approach of the liberal feminist movements, the radical feminist movements in North America in the mid 1970s pay more attention to the subjective state of women and how women came to be dominated, subordinated, and oppressed. They see patriarchy as a system that forms part of society and its structure is sustained with violence, sexuality, religion, tradition and cultural beliefs. Following this, they advocated the need to replace patriarchy with matriarchy and restructure the patriarchal societal institutions, which they claim supports discrimination, inequality and the use of violence or threat of violence to keep women in their place and discourage them from challenging male dominance. Since radicals and extremists are quite normal in every concept or ideology, this group believed that replacing patriarchy with matriarchy is akin to fairness, justice and equity because patriarchy is a reflection of the male dominated society and a necessary display of masculinity, where only a wimp would let a woman get out of control. It incorporates the insights of which the male gender is placed on advantage over the female gender, and which allows men control over women because they have more power. Violence against women is not only a

manifestation of sex inequality, but also serves to maintain unequal balance of power. In some cases, perpetrators consciously use violence as a mechanism for subordination. For example, in a relationship, especially in African patriarchal societies, violence is commonly used to demonstrate and enforce the man's authority and position as head of a household.

Patriarchal gender relation therefore is responsible for the inferior or secondary status of women in the society. In short, patriarchal gender relation is an all encompassing account of the systematic oppression of women in society. But the feminist Marxist theorists' conception of the violence against women is largely in terms of oppression. Violence against women as a form of oppression explains one of the ways by which women are socially subordinated because of their gender. In Africa, they say it is man's world because patriarchal gender practice is hinged on social, religious, cultural and traditional beliefs and this discrimination is mostly suffered by women. Nigeria is part and parcel of the world with a patriarchal gender structure, where a patriarchal gender relation is enforced by tradition culture and perhaps religious legacies.

3. Research Methodology

This study was carried out in Lagos state, Nigeria. Lagos state is located on the south-western coast of Nigeria. It is bounded in the North and East by Ogun state and West by the Republic of Benin; it stretches between latitudes 6° and 7° N and longitudes 3° and 4° E. The state covers a total area of 3,577 square kilometers, with a population of about 27 million; representing about 12% of the national figure (George 2009). The Lagos metropolitan area is the most urbanized agglomeration in Nigeria.

The Domestic and Sexual Violence Offences Department of the Lagos State Ministry of Justice started operation in July, 2013. Due to the peculiar nature of domestic violence cases and administration of criminal justice of, especially, spousal battery in Lagos State, a retrospective study (between March-October 2020) covering the period of the first and second phases of the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown and stay-at-home order, was carried out to determine the prevalence and impact of the Covid-19 stay-at-home- order on spousal battery; gender of the victims and challenges confronting mediation and prosecution of perpetrators of spousal battery in Lagos State. Following this, efforts were made to analyze the spousal battery cases reported during the first and second phases of the Covid-19 stay-at-home-order, at the Domestic and Sexual Violence

Offences Department of the Lagos State Ministry of Justice. A telephone helpline of the Lagos State Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Team (DSVRT) was opened during the lockdown to encourage both men and women to break silence on cases of spousal violence

Hence, secondary data/records retrieved from the telephone helpline of reported cases of spousal battery between March 2020 and October 2020 were analysed. In addition, the study adopted purposive sampling method to capture respondents for the key informant interview (KII) conducted to identify the socio-legal bottleneck of challenges confronting the administration of criminal justice in prosecuting and mediating over the cases of spousal battery in Lagos State. The key informants included three (3) state legal counsels attached to the Domestic Violence Court; three (3) police officers of the Domestic Crime Unit of the Nigeria Police Force; three (3) state officials of Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Team (DSVRT); and three (3) state officials of Citizen's Mediation Centre; We also paid several visits to the Lagos state Citizen's Mediation Centre to observe proceedings of mediation of some of the cases of spousal battery. Citizen's Mediation Centre (CMC) is not a court; it is an agency of the Lagos State Ministry of Justice established to provide mediation in some civil cases so as to decongest the courts of volumes of domestic and civil cases. The CMC works in collaboration with Domestic and Sexual Violence Offences Response Team (DSVRT) of the Lagos State Ministry of Justice. It handles basically domestic and civil matters, especially mediation over matters such as those that are related to marital disputes like spousal battery, spousal forceful eviction, spousal infidelity, harassment, humiliation, intimidation, threat of harm, neglect of home, neglect of children, right to child custody, child labour, and cases of threat to take away children, forwarded to it by the Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Team (DSVRT). The study is a descriptive research, thus, the secondary data collected were analysed using frequency distribution, graph and content analysis.

4. Results and Discussion

We are not aware of any published study that has used data generated from the telephone helpline of reported cases of spousal battery between March 2020 - October 2020 that was generated by the Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Team (DSVRT) of the Lagos State Ministry of Justice. This study analyse raw secondary data/reports generated from the first and second phase of Covid-19

lockdown covering the period between March 2020 - October 2020 from the Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Team (DSVRT) of the Lagos State Ministry of Justice. The secondary data is the only available source of data for the study. The ethical permission to have access to the secondary data was granted by the Domestic and Sexual Violence Offences Department of the Lagos State Ministry of Justice.

The use of secondary data/report has a rich tradition in the social sciences because it provides baseline information required for in-depth research analysis. The secondary data/report identified domestic violence as one of the most common forms of violence against women and it includes physical violence such as spousal battery, threat of harm or harm, the use of physical "force," "violence" or "threat of violence," even if the "victim" "does not sustain any physical harm or injury from the physical contact.

4.1 The First and Second Phases of the Lockdown in Lagos State

In Lagos State, on March 20th, 2020, schools and many business organizations, including shops, restaurants and club houses were directed by the government to close down. Churches, mosques as well as, all gatherings like sporting events and concerts were also banned from holding large assembly of people at a time. The first phase of the total lockdown and Stay-at-home order was from March 31st, 2020-May 31st, 2020. The stay-at-home order of the government was reviewed to reduce the scorching effects of the lockdown as major markets were open and movements were allowed between 7am-6pm from 1st June -June 30th. The second phase of the total lockdown and Stay-at-home order was from 1st July, 2020-30th August, 2020. The period between 1st September, 2020- 30th September, 2020 witnessed partial lockdown. Other modalities like observing Covid-19 prevention protocols such as wearing of face masks and hand washing/sanitizing practices were made compulsory in public places. Churches and mosques gatherings were also allowed with a population not exceeding 50 people. Finally, the lockdown was lifted on 1st October.

In Lagos State, private and public schools were closed down on March 20th, 2020 and a stay-at-home order was enforced by March 31st, 2020. Since the state started enforcing the stay-at-home order, a telephone helpline of the Lagos State Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Team (DSVRT) was opened to encourage both men and women to break silence by reporting cases of spousal violence. A

cursory analysis of this stay-at-home order of the government shows that it may have had a profound impact on increasing cases of spousal battery

4.2 The Prevalence and impact of Covid-19 on Spousal Battery.

The rate of prevalence of spousal battery between March 2020 - October 2020 is very key to an understanding of the impact of the Covid-19 stay-at-home order of government. The stay-at-home order, and the associated frustration, fear and uncertainty of when the pandemic would probably end, could have provided an enabling environment capable of sparking or exacerbating domestic violence especially against women. The implication is that where the stay-at-home order of government puts spouses in close contact for an unusual prolonged period of time, domestic violence such as spousal

battery may occur, especially because couples will obviously be exposed more to one another's habits, which may not be tolerated.

The composition on Table 1 shows that there was a gradual but steady increase in percentage of reported cases of spousal battery in Lagos State during the first and second phases of the Covid-19 lockdown. While only 4.8% of the total number of cases was reported through helpline calls In the month of March, 13.2% was reported through helpline calls in the month of April, 16.4% was reported through helpline calls in the month of May, 16.1% and 17.3% was reported through helpline calls in the month of July and August respectively. The percentage (14.2%) was still high in the month of September but there was a decline in the month of October because the lockdown was lifted 1st of October

Table 1: Distribution Showing the Prevalence based on Reported Cases of Spousal Battery through Helpline Calls in Lagos State during First and Second Phases of the Covid-19 Lockdown

S/N	Month	Reported Cases By Gender		Total Frequency of Reported Cases showing Prevalence	Percentage (%) of Total Reported Cases
		Male	Female		
1	March	03	67	70	4.8 %
2	April	11	181	192	13.2%
3.	May	18	220	238	16.4%
4.	June	13	197	210	14.4%
5.	July	21	213	234	16.1%
6.	August	29	222	251	17.3%
7.	September	13	194	207	14.2%
8.	October	08	45	53	3.6%
	TOTAL	116	1339	1455	100%

These figures show the prevalence of spousal battery during the lockdown. Yet, these figures put together may not have captured the full scale of the prevalence of spousal battery in Lagos State. This may be as a result of the fact that not many people were aware that a telephone helpline was opened by the Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Team (DSVRT) during the lockdown, to encourage both men and women to break silence on cases of spousal violence

Following this, however, it is difficult to determine the exact number of victims and offenders of spousal battery because incidences of spousal battery are mostly underreported. Confirming the prevalence of spousal violence in Nigeria for example, the UNICEF (2001) report on domestic violence against women in Nigeria states that violence strives in all spectrum of the Nigerian society with little or no legal restrain. Especially on daily basis, several women are ill-treated, beaten and raped by their spouses and partners (UNICEF, 2001)

Even with the telephone helpline opened by the Lagos State Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Team (DSVRT) to encourage both men and women to break silence by reporting cases of spousal battery, many spouses could still be nursing the fear, or stigma of being framed by friends, relatives and neighbours as a man or woman who is trying to convict the husband or wife (NAN, 2015).

Our visits to the Lagos State Citizen's Mediation Centre (CMC), to observe proceedings of mediation of some of the cases of spousal battery, further confirm the prevalence of spousal violence during the lockdown. This is because of the various forms of physical, verbal and emotional assaults, violence and threat of violence reported by victims. The commonest of these include economic, verbal, emotional and sexual assaults and violence such as abandoning home, not taking economic responsibility of children, nagging; hissing; insults; abuses; curses; destruction of properties; provocation; attempt of forceful eviction and confrontation. Other assaults are physical violence, which include cases

such as being beaten-up; slapped; pushed; kicked; hit with object; and threatened with weapon such as knife, cutlass, broken bottle, wood, hot water, poison and acid. This finding therefore suggests that different types of assaults and violence were experienced by the victims of spousal battery.

The key informant interview (KII) conducted among the officials of the Citizen's Mediation Centre (CMC) also reveal that most of the women who had suffered spousal violence do not really desire to leave their spouse for various reasons ranging from lack of alternative means of economic support; to fear of

losing custody of children; lack of support from family and friends; and the hope that their spouse will change. Similarly, Musbau (2017) observes in a report that about 98% of women that are victims of domestic violence cases recorded within Lagos, still desire to remain in marriage solely for the sake of their children. The key informant further states that though these reasons can be effective at reducing the rate of divorce in our society, some women still leave their spouse after series of mediation by the agency, family and friends, especially on realization that their spouse is unwilling to change and the violence is affecting their health and children.

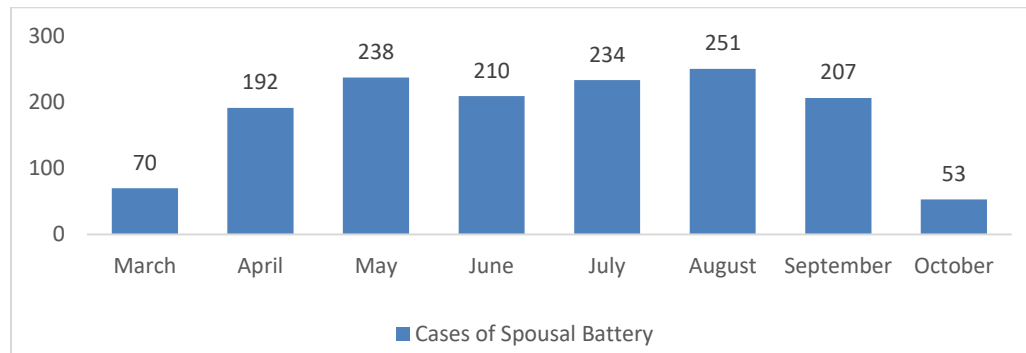


Fig. 1: Graph Showing the Prevalence based on Reported Cases of Spousal Battery through Helpline Calls to DSVRT in Lagos State, During First and Second Phases of covid-19 Lockdown

Fig.1 shows a graph of gradual but steady increase in the trend of reported cases of spousal battery in Lagos State. The reported cases of spousal battery could be attributed to the public sensitization and enlightenment campaign and as well as, the telephone help line of the Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Team (DSVRT) of the Lagos State Ministry of Justice that was opened during the lockdown to encourage both men and women to break silence on cases of spousal violence. The increasing trend of spousal battery, no doubt, points to a disturbing dimension that the crime tend to be steadily assuming in Lagos State, even though the rights of the citizens to the dignity of human person against spousal battery is enshrined in the constitution, the Matrimonial Act, the Criminal Law of Lagos State (2015); and the Violence against Persons Prohibition Act (VAPPA, 2015).

The temporary shutdown of non-essential businesses during the Covid-19 stay-at-home order may have led to temporary unemployment and considerable financial strain especially for spouses who survive on daily income. This could have created potential source of stress, frustration, depression and exhaustion, which may lead to anger, tension, aggression, provocation and violent among spouses. More so, the stay-at-home orders and the associated

fear, frustration and uncertainty of when the pandemic would possibly end could have also worsened the situation by providing an enabling situation capable of sparking or exacerbating domestic violence like spousal battery. This catastrophic experience may have worsened the vulnerability of spouses' undue nagging, verbal insults, provocation and incessant conflicts leading to spousal battery especially in situation where there is no government social support or palliative. The Covid-19 stay-at-home order may also create worst cases of spousal battery for spouses that previously suffer spousal battery as a form of domestic violence.

4.3 Gender of Victims of Spousal Battery

Though women are significantly more likely than men to experience spousal battery, men are sometimes also victims (Johnson and Das, 2009). Most times, spousal battery is not a manifestation of sex inequality but a conscious mentality of the perpetrator to subdue and to enforce control, to gain submission of the victim and to make him or her subordinate. Data from table 1 (as mathematically expressed below) shows that while only 8.0% of the total numbers of victims of spousal battery were men who reported the case through telephone helpline calls, 92% were women.

Total telephone helpline reported cases of spousal battery :1455

Total telephone helpline reported cases of men who are victims of spousal battery :116

Total helpline reported cases of women who are victims of spousal battery : 1339

Percentage of Men who Reported Cases of Spousal Battery:- $\frac{116}{1455} \times \frac{100}{1} = 8.0 \%$

Percentage of Women who Reported Cases of Spousal Battery:- $\frac{1339}{1455} \times \frac{100}{1} = 92 \%$

Generally, cases of men who suffer spousal battery remain largely underreported because men hardly disclose in public that they were beaten by their spouse due to ego, stigma, shame and humiliation (Johnson and Das, 2009), even when the assaults falls within the definition of spousal battery, gender violence or domestic violence. Yet, spousal battery suffered by men is more likely to be reported especially when serious injury is sustained (Cote et al, 2018).

Spousal battery is a serious human rights abuse and a public health problem. Especially, where the victim is a woman, it has potential risk for her health including injury and death (UNPF, 2001). This is because a female victim of spousal violence is three times more likely to suffer injury and five times more likely to receive medical attention (CCJS, 2000). Injuries commonly associated with spousal violence include bruises; abdominal or thoracic injuries; fractures; teeth, sight and hearing damage; head injury; back and neck injury; and possible more common are ailments that have no identifiable medical cause or are difficult to diagnose (WHO, 2005).

Spousal battery can be quite traumatic. Research evidence suggests that the effect of this assault can persist long after the violence has stopped. This is why abused women are three times more likely as non-abused women to report poor physical and mental health problems, even if the violence occurred years before (WHO, 2005). Especially, the severity of the experience, emotional pain and injury sustained during the assault, can be very critical in prolonging the traumatic experience of the spousal battery (Dibaba,2006). The negative effects of spousal battery cannot be downplayed. These effects include emotional pains, shame, guilt, self blame, lack of trust, threat to end relationship, self esteem difficulty, fear of object used by the perpetrator, health and suicidal tendencies associated with depression, anxiety and stress resulting from the violent assault (Dibaba,2006).

4.4 Legal Instruments Prohibiting Spouses Against Battery in Lagos, Nigeria.

Spousal battery against married men and women is a crime against the rights and dignity of the human person of every victim of battery. The response at national and international levels has put in place a number of laws, treaties, conventions and protocols dealing especially with violence against women At the international level, there are a number of treaties, laws, protocols and conventions that Nigeria is signatory to. Prominent among these is: the United Nations Convention on the Declaration of Human Rights (1948). At the national level, the1999 Nigerian Constitution provides for the respect and dignity of human persons. The Constitution provides in section 34(1) that ‘no person shall be subjected to torture, assault such as battery or any form of inhuman molestation and degrading treatment’. The rights of the citizens to the dignity of the human person against spousal battery is also enshrined in the Matrimonial Causes Act; the Criminal Law of Lagos State (2015); and the Nigeria Violence Against Persons Prohibition Act (VAPPA, 2015), domesticated in Lagos. The act seeks to prohibit spousal battery, spousal forceful ejection from home, economic abuse and harmful traditional practices such as ill-treatment of widows, female genital mutilation, child abuse and rape. The act prohibits all forms of violence against persons, providing maximum protection and effective remedies for victims and punishment of offenders. The Violence against Persons Prohibition Act (VAPPA, 2015) prescribes the following penalties for offenders of spousal battery:

- a) That a person who willfully assault his or her spouse by battering or inflicts physical violence and injury by means of any weapon, substance or object, commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a prison term of not exceeding 5years or a fine not exceeding N100,000.00 or both.
- b) That a person who attempts threat of physical violence or commit the act of violence on his/her spouse provided for above commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a prison term of not exceeding 3 years or to a fine not exceeding N200,000.00 or both.
- c) That a person who willfully or knowingly places his/her spouse on fear of physical violence, harm or injury commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a prison term of not exceeding 2 years or to a fine not exceeding N200,000:00 or both. The Court may also award appropriate compensation to the victim as it may deem fit in the circumstances.

d) That the perpetrator of spousal battery can be convicted of domestic violence even if the “victim” does not sustain any physical harm or injury from the physical assault. The act is punishable by law, if proven. All that is required is the proof that the perpetrator actually assaulted his or her spouse using physical “force,” “violence” or “threat of violence” against him or her.

4.5 Challenges Confronting Mediation and Administration of Criminal Justice in the Prosecution of Spousal Battery in Lagos State

The increasing incidence of spousal battery in Lagos State is very disturbing. Spousal battery is a crime punishable under the Violence Against persons Prohibition Act (VAPP Act, 2015), the Law of the Federation of Nigeria domesticated in Lagos and the Criminal Law of Lagos State (2015). In Lagos State, the Citizen’s Mediation Centre (CMC) is an agency of the Lagos State Ministry of Justice established to provide mediation in some domestic and civil cases so as to decongest the court of volumes of civil cases. The CMC works in collaboration with Domestic and Sexual Violence Offences Response Team (DSVRT) of the Lagos State Ministry of Justice. It handles basically domestic and civil matters, especially mediation over domestic matters such as those that are related to marital disputes like spousal battery, spousal eviction, spousal infidelity, harassment, humiliation, intimidation, threat of harm, neglect of home, neglect of children, right to child custody, child labour, and cases of threat to take away children, forwarded to it by the Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Team (DSVRT). The CMC was created by the Lagos State government as a way to decongest the court of some minor civil cases. But the office of the Director of Public Prosecution (DPP) is in charge of prosecuting all cases of spousal battery that results to life threatening injuries or murder. Though official statistics on spousal homicide in Nigeria has been scanty and inconsistent but report shows that loss of control, jealousy, envy and infidelity were found to be common predisposing factors to spousal homicide (Aborishade et al, 2019). Where there is enough evidence to prosecute cases of spousal battery that results to life threatening injuries or murder, the DPP will take appropriate steps to file charges at the High Court.

The Citizen’s Mediation Centre (CMC) is not a court but a mediation centre. It has powers to invoke Section 14 of the law that establishes it to resolve domestic and civil cases such as those that are related to marital disputes like spousal battery and to compel the parties to sign a Memorandum of

Understanding (MoU) for peace. And if any of the parties attempts to breach the MoU, a seven days ultimatum will first be issued by CMC for the party to comply. Thereafter, the enforcement will be carried out by the office of the Attorney General of Lagos State. At times, parties could be advised to go to court or their case referred to Domestic Violent Court (DVC), especially where cases of spousal battery is life threatening with serious injuries or where the matter could not be resolved amicably because of the recalcitrant attitude of either of or both parties. Where there are enough facts to prosecute a case, the office of the Director of Public Prosecution (DPP) will take appropriate steps to file charges at the High Court where Violence Against persons Prohibition Act (VAPPA, 2015), the Law of the Federation of Nigeria domesticated in Lagos State and the Criminal Law of Lagos State will be invoked. In spite of this, and especially with the relevant legislations in place to curb the increasing incidence of spousal battery in Lagos State, only a handful of cases have been successfully prosecuted. Those few cases that have been successfully prosecuted were probably those that are life threatening with serious degree of injuries and those that culminated in the death of either the assaulter or the victim (NAN, 2015).

The key informant interview (KII) conducted reveal quite a number of socio-legal bottleneck of challenges confronting mediation and administration of criminal justice in prosecuting or settlement of cases of spousal battery in Lagos State. The criminal justice stakeholders including the assaulter and the victims of spousal battery were all apportioned with blame for the challenges confronting the prosecution or mediation in cases of spousal battery in Lagos State. For instance, most spouses were not particularly aware of the telephone helpline opened by the Lagos State Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Team (DSVRT) to encourage both men and women to break silence by reporting cases of spousal battery. Even where some spouses were aware of the telephone helpline, they were still unwilling or reluctant to lodge complaints with appropriate authorities or agencies probably because of the fear of being stigmatized by friends, relatives and neighbours as a man/woman who is trying to convict the husband/wife, or due to lack of money to pay for legal services.

A legal officer attached to the Domestic Violent Court (DVC) laments that often times, women don’t want to report their spouses or seek legal redress for spousal battery because of fear of losing economic support from their spouses. He states further that this

fact is evident in several cases where victims are pressurized by their friends and relatives to withdraw their complaints and suits, especially when it is becoming more apparent that their spouses may suffer punitive measures like jail term or a fine.

A senior official of CMC reports that another problem associated with mediation and administration of criminal justice of domestic disputes like spousal battery is the non-availability of medical report or evidence that could ultimately help the prosecutor to convict the accused persons. Photograph and medical reports of physical evidence of blood from injuries, cuts, bruises, swollen parts of the body or forensic evidence supporting that the victim was actually battered are key in offering credible evidence to help the prosecutor to convict the accused person. Where the medical report, forensic evidence, or photograph of the physical evidence are not promptly taken this could distort the required evidence needed to convict the accused person, especially where credible evidence is being demanded by the defendant. Yet, most times victims of spousal battery may not be able to assist the agency or the Domestic Violent Court (DVC) with evidence because victims themselves may have destroyed these evidence under the persuasion of the spouse (i.e., the perpetrator), that the battery was “the work of the devil” or simply blaming third parties especially the in-laws’ interference as responsible for causing the domestic conflict leading to battery. Musbau (2017) confirms this that evidence for 88% of cases of domestic violence against women recorded within Lagos were either destroyed by the abuser or misplaced by the victim.

Another key informant puts the challenges of mediation and administration of criminal justice of domestic disputes like spousal battery on the police. That most times, the police treat cases of spousal battery with triviality. That it is only when there is physical evidence of blood, injury or death that police would promptly take action. Generally, police often believe that domestic conflicts leading to spousal battery are civil cases that can be resolved or settled by spouses themselves or by their families and neighbours.

Yet, the court also cannot be exonerated from the challenges confronting mediation and the administration of criminal justice because of the frivolous ways it grants requests to adjourn cases. Since justice delayed is justice denied, victims of spousal battery most times end up not getting justice. But a State counsel attached to the Domestic Violent Court (DVC) notes that the sensitivity and complex

nature of spousal battery especially when it culminates into serious injury or death of either the assaulter or the victim, most times, require careful approach, since justice must not only be done but must be seen to have been done. So, tackling the increasing incidence of spousal battery and bringing offenders to justice is much more the collective responsibility of officers of the Temple of Justice. Commenting on whether the punitive measures of the existing laws is not stringent enough to stem the tide of the crime; he states further that the supreme aim of the laws is not only to punish offenders but to correct and refine perpetrators of crime and to also save the society from tragedy of violence, anarchy and destruction.

5. Conclusion and Recommendation

Spousal battery, unfortunately is regarded as the commonest form of domestic violence. This crime is on a notable increase in Lagos State, especially during the state wide lockdown in 2020, on the account of the Covid-19 pandemic. This could have been influenced by the disruption of the major means of livelihood of many people and especially where palliatives and other forms of social support for families were of limited access during the said Covid-19 lockdown. Hence, this could have created a potential source of stress, frustration, exhaustion and depression, which may equally lead to anger, tension, aggression, provocation and violence among spouses. More so, the stay-at-home order and the associated fear, frustration and uncertainty of when the pandemic would likely end could have worsened the situation by providing an enabling environment capable of sparking, or exacerbating domestic violence like spousal battery. While men are sometimes victims of spousal battery, women are overwhelmingly more as victims. In order to suppress the crime and bring perpetrators to justice, responses at national and state levels have entailed a number of laws. Yet, with the recent increasing trend of reported cases only few offenders have been successfully convicted because of a myriad of problems resulting from adjournment of cases and withdrawal of complaints and suits, especially when it is becoming more apparent to victims that their spouses may suffer punitive measure like a jail term or fine. Spousal battery can be quite traumatic and it often leaves victims with severity of trauma, emotional experience and injury sustained during the assault, which can be very painful. The negative effects of spousal battery include emotional pain, shame, guilt, self blame, lack of trust; threat to end relationship, self esteem difficulty, fear of object used by the

perpetrator and health associated depression from the assault.

Following this, fighting against all manner of spousal battery is all encompassing. Data on the prevalence, severity and health implications of spousal violence can serve as the important tool to engage government and policy makers in addressing the issue. Law enforcement agencies like the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), the court, Citizen's Mediation Centre (CMC), Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Team (DSVRT), as well as the media, non-governmental organization (NGOs), community leaders and family members are all expected to play different but critical roles in the war against spousal battery. In a nutshell, society should exhibit zero tolerance to spousal battery, promote public awareness of the crime, encourage victims to speak out, report cases to appropriate authorities and be bold enough to press for legal charges in court. Especially, Civil Society Organisations and government agencies in charge of domestic violence have a lot to do in terms of advocacy and sensitization of the general public of the existence of laws prohibiting spousal battery and the danger of the crime. Government should also show more political and legal will to decongest the Court of spousal battery cases with stringent and prompt penalty on offenders to serve as deterrent. Psychiatric analysis of the state of mental health of offenders is also as important as the forensic evidence needed to successfully convict the offenders. Much is also required in the area of policies, counseling and rehabilitation of victims who are often traumatized and haunted by their terrible experiences. The treatment, counseling and rehabilitation programmes of CMC should be holistic to include allowing the victims to have access to government subsidized medical care programmes. Above all, programmes targeting women economic empowerment can also be effective at reducing the rate of spousal violence.

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Poor Education, Unemployment and National Security in Nigeria

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Abstract. The study examined poor education and unemployment as threat for national security in Nigeria with the objectives to establish the relationship between poor education, unemployment and national security; trace the historical antecedents of education and unemployment in Nigeria; examine the causes of poor education and unemployment in Nigeria; examine the challenges of poor education and unemployment for Nigeria's national security; and proffer ways of improving education to generate employment for enhanced national security. Data for the study were sourced from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data were collected through questionnaires administered to 100 respondents of which 94 were returned. The secondary data were gotten from both published and unpublished materials. From the responses to the questionnaire, 82.2 respondents affirmed the finding of this study. The study found that poor education and unemployment have social, economic and political effects on national security these are in the areas of health, education, social protection to mention but few. It also established that the challenges of poor education and unemployment for national security are that of high crime rate, increase civil unrest, increase cyber-crime and undermines economic security. The study concluded that poor education and unemployment are threat to national security. Based on its findings, the study however recommended that: the Federal Government of Nigeria should set up Agricultural Development Youth Fund (AYDF) that will be saddled with the responsibility of investing massively in agriculture and also encourage youths into it. The Federal Ministry of Education should set up a body that will be charged with the responsibility of total

overhauling of the curriculum at all levels of education. The governments at both federal and state levels should set up a joint body that will be saddle with the responsibility of checking rural urban migration through the provision of essential social amenities that will make life in the rural areas attractive to the youths. Then Federal government of Nigeria should provide more funding for the educational sector.

Keywords: National Security, Education, Unemployment, Curriculum, Anambra State.

1. Introduction

Education and employment normally assist citizens to become empowered and break away from poverty by endowing them with expertise and information to increase their output, income and wealth (Aliu, 2017). More than one billion people are between 15 and 25 years of age (Rodrigues, 2016). Nearly 40 per cent of the world's population, below the age of 20 years and 85 percent of them, who live in African countries, are especially vulnerable to extreme poverty. It is estimated that about 88.2 million young people, globally are unemployed and that many more young men and women are working long hours for low pay, struggling to make a living in the informal sector of economy (Nwosun, 2014). Thus, one of the challenges facing the world today is how to make education meaningful and more inclusive to this set of people around the globe.

UNESCO observes that education is widely recognized as one of the most critical means of curbing unemployment, the current quality of

education in most African countries leaves much to be desired (Republic of Rwanda, 2010). The focus is on rote learning where students are made to memorize information rather than think on their own and take on responsibilities. It neglects the importance of developing a creative mindset among children, which means that the significance of education as a tool for personal development is severely tampered by such form of education.

In Nigeria, the National Population Commission (NPC) indicates that the rates of unemployment were from 21.1 percent in 2010 to 29.9 percent in 2020. Similarly, the World Bank in its "Nigerian Economic Report", published in June, 2021, stated that unemployment rose from 12 percent of the working population in 2006 to 29.9 percent in 2020 (The World Bank Group, 2021). Further confirming this state of unemployment in Nigeria, the Nigerian Bureau of Statistics put the total number of unemployed Nigerian youths at 54 per cent in 2015 (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2015). Out of that number, unemployed females made up 51.9 per cent, compared to their male counterparts with 48.1 per cent.

The mean unemployment rate for Nigeria as a whole according to the analyses, stood at 23.9 percent in 2015 (Nigerian Bureau of Statistics, 2015). Majorly, this increasing level of unemployment could partly be attributed to poor quality of graduate turn out in our institutions. This result to institutions turning out graduates that are not employable. Consequently, the huge amount of unemployed youth constitutes a threat to the nation's security. This is so because they get involved in criminal activities like terrorism, kidnapping, hostage taking as an alternative means of survival. Using data collected through primary and secondary sources and descriptive and analytical method of data analysis, the paper examines poor education and unemployment as a threat to Nigeria's national security. It covered the period from 2010-2020. This period is chosen because it is the period in which Nigeria witnessed an increased rate of unemployment leading to insecurity attributed to poor education.

1.1 Justification of the Paper

Majority of violent acts threatening national security have been ascribed to youth unemployment which is engendered by lack of education or poor level of education. Some of them are the IPOB agitation in the Southeastern part of Nigeria; the low intensity war in the Niger-Delta; Ife-Modakeke dispute; the post election crisis and the asymmetric war with

Boko Haram going on in large part of the North eastern part of Nigeria. These series of crises have been of great threat to Nigeria's national security. Ironically, in spite of Nigeria's enormous natural and human resources, Nigeria's education system is bedeviled with the challenges of underfunding and thus poor infrastructure; inadequate classrooms and teaching aids (projectors, computers, libraries, laboratories etc); paucity of quality teachers/ poor or polluted learning environment. The Nigerian educational system is further plagued with numerous social vices like examination malpractices; cultism; and infant hooliganism amongst others. All these have to a greater extent contributed to the increase rate of unemployment and acts of criminality in the Nigerian society (Aina, 2020). Nigeria's education system is rather quantitative than qualitative-oriented; what is often found as screaming headlines of Newspapers is cult wars, rape cases in our campuses, violent initiation of unsuspecting students into various cult groups; bribery and corruption allegations against teachers; campus prostitution allegedly patronized by public office holders who are supposed to uphold the thrust of integrity and cultural values orientation.

Abdul (2010) asserts that military incursion into politics is substantially responsible for the devastating deterioration in the objectives and goals of Nigeria's education system. A sad incidence of history was the forceful takeover of private and missionary schools which were pacesetters in boarding and efficient classroom administration. This is why recent resolve by some Governors to return schools to their original private and proprietors have been accorded with thunderous applauses. It is based on this observation that this study sets out to investigate poor education and unemployment as a threat to Nigeria national security.

1.2 Understanding Poor Education

The concept of poor education is not something to give a generally accepted definition. For there are so many definitions as there are many authors who tend to define it from their own points of view. Baikie (2012) define poor education as the act of or process of not being able to acquire adequate knowledge and the theory of teaching and learning. This definition is deficient because it fails to state what causes poor education and its impact on the society. Kaita (2019) construed poor education to mean inability to learn efficiently. This means inability to train and to bring up. This definition by Kaita is highly inaccurate and too ambiguous and narrow. This is because it fails to explain what is to be learnt, what is the nature of

training and what is being brought up. Like Baikie, Kaita also fails to relate poor education to unemployment or national security. Baikie (2012) in his work on poor education focused more on the inability to gain sufficient knowledge and theory of teaching and learning. Kaita (2019) in his conception of poor education also argued that poor education is the incapability to study efficiently or the lack of ability to effectively train. In the same vein, Peters (2017) in defining poor education argued that poor education is a situation in which students are not able to socialize and acculturate. The fundamental flaw in their definitions is that they all fail to establish the causes of poor education and how it affects unemployment as well as national security.

According to Peter (2017), poor education is a process of not been able to achieve adequate socialization, enculturation and transmission of what is worthwhile to those who are committed to it, be it children or adult. This conception implies that those who go through it want to improve themselves but are not able to do so. Okafor (1977) sees poor education as a process of ineffective acculturation through which the individual would have been helped to attain the development of his potentials and their maximum activation when necessary according to right reason and to achieve his perfect self-fulfilment. This definition is deficient because it focused mainly on the cultural aspects of education. It also fails to explain what it meant by acculturation and the factors that affects it.

1.3 Understanding Unemployment

Unemployment is a concept that has been subjected to many definitions depending on how the various authors tend to view it. According to Olaiya (2013), unemployment refers to state of being unemployed and amount of unused labour. He added that unemployment refers to labour that is not engaged or that is not put into use for productive purpose. This definition however fails to look that the possible causes of unemployment and its impacts on the society in general. Mundi (2013) defines unemployment as the percentage of the labour force that is without job. Unemployment in other words, is the total percentage of people who want to work but the work is not available. It refers to the number of people who have acquired the required knowledge and skills and are willing to work but the work is not available for them to do. These people are products of many institutions within and outside Nigeria. This definition also fails to explain the factors that could be responsible for unemployment as well as its effects on national security.

Fajana (2020) opined that unemployment can be described as the state of 'worklessness' experienced by persons who are members of the labour force who perceived themselves and are perceived by others as capable of work. According to him unemployed people can be categorized into those who have never worked after graduation from the university and those who have lost their jobs thereby seeking re-entry into labour market. However, the major limitation in this definition is the fact that it focus mainly on graduates from the universities and not taking into cognizance graduates from polytechnics and other tertiary institutions. Olaiya (2013) in his work, construed unemployment as the condition in which active labour is not being utilized. He stated that unemployment is the situation in which productive labour are unused. For Abdul (2013) unemployment is the total amount of labour force in the society that is without a job. He argued that they are those with requisite skills and knowledge but are not gainfully employed. In explaining unemployment, Fajana (2020) asserts that unemployed people are those that have never worked after graduating from universities or those persons that lost their job at one point or the other. It is pertinent to note that all this authors agreed that unemployment is a condition in which people that are qualify to do a job have no job.

1.4 Understanding National Security

The concept of national security is subject to several contending definitions. This has led to some conclusion about the nature of national security. Hence it has been variously described as an ambiguous, abstract underdeveloped concept and an essentially contestable concept (Toyo, 1999). However, two distinct concepts of national security need to be examined. These include the military and non-military or an all-inclusive perspective. The classical military view of national security emphasizes military preparedness as the main instrument for the preservation of national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity (Cammack, 1987). The second category focuses on the absence of threat and severe deprivation of economic well-being. McNamara views national security as follows:

In a modernising society, security means development. Security is not military force, though it may involve it, security is not traditional military activity, though it may encompass it.... Security is development and without development there can be no security (McNamara, 1968).

In line with the above view on national security, Mohammed (2015), argues that the dynamics of

growth and sophistication of society has altered the configuration of national security to include the prevention and / or management of socially generated crisis such as riots, demonstrations, cultism, terrorism, drug trafficking, ethnic conflicts, religious intolerance, armed robbery and a host of others that threaten lives and properties. From the foregoing discussions, national security exists in two broad domains:- military and non military. Imobighe (2015) however observes that military threat against Nigeria's territorial integrity is minimal compared to the non military aspects. He therefore argues that attention could be focused more on the development of domestic structures in order to ensure sustainable growth, development and, consequently, the enhancement of national security. This study aligns itself with this perspective.

2. Empirical Literature

In recent times, Nigeria has been facing several security challenges. These include rise in armed robbery, kidnapping, and insurgency by the Niger Delta militants, ethnic conflicts, and recently, activities of the Boko Haram sect. Hundreds of Nigerians have been killed as a result of one violent crime or the other, while property worth millions of naira has also been lost to insecurity in the country (Abubakar, 2012). Fundamentally, no one and place is considered totally safe within the country. While those in the southern parts of the country grapple with kidnapping and other violent crimes, Nigerians in the North live in utter terror not knowing where and when the next set of bombs will explode (Morphy, 2010). The country's security challenge took a terrorism dimension with the 1 Oct 2010 bombing near the Eagle Square in Abuja, venue of the country's 50th independence celebration (National Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Since then, series of bomb attacks have occurred in several parts of the country including Suleja in Niger state, Jos, Kaduna, Maiduguri, Bauchi and Kano. The country has also witnessed several ethnic and religious crises which appear to be escalating at an intolerable scale. These crises and criminal activities are largely attributed to the high level of unemployment in Nigeria.

From the picture of the high level of unemployment in Nigeria painted above that is partly occasioned by poor level of education in Nigeria. It is easy to see how this population of unemployed persons can serve as security threat to the country. The various security challenges been faced by the country have been attributed to unemployment in many cases. According to the popular maxim, the idle hand is the

devil's workshop (Bello, 2013). The situation whereby majority of the people unemployed partly due to poor or inadequate education which make some of them not employable will doubtlessly engender high insecurity in the country. It is now the norm to see thousands of the unemployed turn up in response to advertisement for jobs where only a handful is to be employed. The country is faced with a gross abuse and under-utilization of human resources with direct impact on national productivity and competitiveness. Thus, unemployment has driven many Nigerians into various activities that constitute a threat to the country's security (Njoku, and Ihugba, 2011). There have been instances in which young graduates were arrested for being involved in one form of crime or another. Most of these criminal graduates attribute their involvement in these crimes to the unemployment situation in the country. For instance, the cover story of The News Magazine (26 September 2011) was captioned "Graduate Bandits on the Prowl". According to the report, most of the graduate robbers that were interviewed argued that they took to crime for want of job (Adesina, 2011). However; it could be argued that such graduates were not adequately well educated due to poor infrastructure; inadequate classrooms, cultism, teaching aids amongst others.

3. Methodology

The descriptive level of research was applied as the study examined the impact of poor education and unemployment on insecurity in Nigeria. A field based survey design was adopted. This design sets out to generate data to describe the impact of poor education on insecurity in Anambra State, Nigeria. The study relied on both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data was obtained through field surveys using structured questionnaires and unstructured interview with resource persons in the field of study. Furthermore, copies of questionnaire were distributed to some selected sample size within Anambra State. Secondary data were gotten through perusal and analysis of documents, using the archival search method. Published and unpublished works were studied to check history of insecurity and education in Nigeria.

3.1 Data Presentation and Analysis

A total of 100 questionnaires were distributed within Awka, Onitsha and Nnewi metropolis of Anambra State, out of which 94 were returned. This represented 94 per cent response which is acceptable for a study of this nature.

Question: Is Poor Education and Unemployment Threats to Nigeria's National Security?

Table 1: Responses to if poor education and unemployment engender threats to Nigeria

Serial	Responses	No of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents	Remarks
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
1.	Agree	81	86.2	
2.	Disagree	9	9.6	
3.	Not sure	4	4.2	
4.	Total	94	100	

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, 2021.

Table 1 show that 86.2 per cent of the respondents agreed that poor education and unemployment is an issue for crime rate. 9.6 per cent of the respondents however disagreed. Those that are not sure constitute 4.2 per cent. Majority of the respondents agreed. Therefore, poor education and unemployment is an issue for crime rate in Nigeria.

Questions: Do you Agree that Poor Education and Unemployment Engenders Civil Unrest in Nigeria?

Table 2: Responses to if Poor Education and Unemployment Engenders Civil Unrest in Nigeria

Serial	Responses	No of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents	Remarks
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
1.	Agree	77	81.9	
2.	Disagree	14	14.9	
3.	Not sure	3	3.2	
4.	Total	94	100	

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, 2021.

Table 2 shows that 82 per cent of the respondents were of the view that poor education and unemployment engenders civil unrest in Nigeria. 3 per cent of the respondents were not sure if poor education and unemployment engenders civil unrest in Nigeria or not. However, 15 per cent of the respondents assert that poor education and unemployment do not engenders civil unrest in Nigeria. It is the view of the majority of the respondents that poor education and unemployment engenders civil unrest in Nigeria. Therefore, poor education and unemployment is engenders civil unrest in Nigeria.

Question: Do you Agree that Poor Education and Unemployment Facilitates Cyber Crime in Nigeria

Table 3: Responses to if Poor Education and Unemployment Facilitates Cyber Crime in Nigeria

Serial	Responses	No of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents	Remarks
1.	Agree	72	76.6	
2.	Disagree	13	13.8	
3.	Not sure	9	9.6	
4.	Total	94	100	

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, 2021.

In table 3 above, it can be deduced that 76.6 per cent of the respondents agreed that poor education and unemployment facilitates cyber-crime in Nigeria. 13.8 per cent of them disagreed while 9.6 per cent were not sure if poor education and unemployment facilitates cyber-crime in Nigeria. Majority of the respondents agreed. Therefore, poor education and unemployment facilitates cyber-crime in Nigeria.

Question: Is Poor Education and Unemployment an issue for Economy in Nigeria?

Table 4.4: Responses to if Poor Education and Unemployment is an issue for Economy in Nigeria

Serial	Responses	No of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents	Remarks
1.	Agree	79	84	
2.	Disagree	10	10.6	
3.	Not sure	5	5.3	
4.	Total	94	100	

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, 2021.

Table 4 shows that 84 per cent of the respondents affirmed that poor education and unemployment affects Nigeria's economy. It was the view of 10.6 of the respondents that poor education and unemployment does not affects Nigeria's economy. Lastly, 5.3 per cent of the respondents were indecisive. Therefore, since majority of the respondent were affirmative then poor education and unemployment affects Nigeria's economy.

4. Effects of Poor Education and Unemployment on National Security

4.1 High Crime Rate

Every society across the globe has its peculiar problems and challenges. Nigeria is not an exception. As a developing country, she faces her own share of social, political, economic and cultural problems which has in no small measure affected the well-being of the populace. Such problems bedeviling the country include poor education and unemployment which has resulted in the rising wave of crime, which have serious implications for national security. Unemployment rate in Nigeria has continued to be on the increase despite the abundant human and natural resources available in the country. Chronic youth's unemployment is evident in Nigeria. Every year, thousands of graduates are produced but there are no jobs for majority of them, this is partly due to poor quality of education they obtained in schools. Nigerian streets are littered with youth hawkers who ordinarily would have found gainful employment in some enterprise if they were properly educated (Audu, 2011). The large number of youths who are unemployed is capable of undermining democratic practice as they constitute a serious threat if engaged by the political class for clandestine and criminal activities.

4.2 Increased Civil Unrest

It could be recalled that the Arab Spring that happened was carried out by restive youths who were frustrated by the way their countries were governed. What is the likelihood that such revolution cannot be carried out by poorly educated and unemployed youth in Nigeria? In addition, we need to recall the role of the restive youth in the Niger/Delta region before the declaration of amnesty by the Federal government. These youths constituted a menace in the society by terrorizing and kidnapping oil workers and foreigners to demand for huge ransoms. Many lives and property were lost during the period of their restiveness. Currently, kidnapping is the latest self-employment unemployed youth are engaged in.

Several politicians, actors/actresses, young ones, aged etc. have been victims in the hand of kidnappers. Despite several arrests carried out by the police, the business of kidnapping keeps flourishing every day. Many youth have turned themselves to "area boys" engaging in nefarious activities and a ready evil instrument for the politicians during political activities (Nwokwu, 2012).

4.3 Increased Cyber Crime

The proliferation of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in Nigeria has brought with it tremendous changes. These challenges are more noticeable in facets of Nigerian economy, banking, insurance, stock market, law, production services, security amongst others. Paradoxically, ICT has also evolved to become a sophisticated tool in the hand of criminals for perpetuating different forms of Cybercrime in Nigeria. A wave of fraudulent mails and other sharp practices referred to as "419" scamming in Nigerian parlance pervade the entire web space. This ugly trend acts as a cankerworm against economic development in Nigeria. It has also compounded the challenges facing Nigeria in the fight against corruption and other vices. It also has the potential to serve as a breeding ground for cyber terrorism. It could be done by providing a platform for religious extremists and militants to recruit, train and plan terrorist attacks with just laptops and internet access.

The menace of cybercrime has dented the image of the country before the international communities. Onadipe (2012) notes in his article concerning a recent study by a research firm, Chatham House. The study showed that Nigerian scams cost the British economy about £150 million a year. However, the cost to society goes beyond just losing money, claimed British Police. Some victims have attempted suicide, while many others watch their marriages crash and their businesses go bankrupt. Further findings also revealed that Australians lost at least \$36 million a year to Nigerian scammers according to Detective Superintendent Brian Hay of Queensland Police Fraud Squad, Australia. Hay disclosed that Australians sent about \$3 million a month to Nigeria of which at least 80% was fraud-related.

Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) claimed to have thwarted internet scams that would have left victims with losses running into five billion. This was achieved during covert operations targeting cybercrime activities in various parts of the country. From the aforementioned, it is evident that cybercrime can cover a wide range of attacks. Many

youths are involved in this despicable act due to the high rate of unemployment, and they go to the extent of charming themselves so that the law would not catch up with them. Some of the youth opined that they are involved in it to pay back the colonial masters for exploiting the country. In addition, it should be noted that the people behind cybercrime are geniuses in which if such youth channel their knowledge in the right direction (people like Mack Zuckerberg of the Facebook and Google founders: Sergey Brin and Larry Page), it can add to the growth and development of the country technologically. This indicates that a nation needs to pay more attention to the youth for its survival and advancement.

4.4 Undermines Economic Security

Economic security is a major element of national security. It is composed of basic social security which pertains to health, education, social protection as well as work-related security. No matter how we look at national security, there can be no question of the need to include the economic viability of our nation. It is important to note that without capital, there is no business; without business, there can be no profit. Without profit, there are no jobs and without jobs, there are no taxes, and there is no military capability. Economic security is a major phenomenon that must be pursued as part of the formidable aspect in securing the country. Nigeria is the second largest economy in Africa yet the effect of unemployment tells on the economic growth. The youth that are supposed to be productive agents of the economy and be the greatest assets in terms of human resources are still dependent on their parents, relatives or friends. Hence, the high rate of youth unemployment renders economic security ineffective. A recent statistics shows that only about 20 million Nigerians have sustainable and regular jobs, out of a population of about 180 million (Agbaegbu, 2011). This simple statistic causes the country a loss of about two trillion dollars annually from the absence of commercial activities that ordinarily should have taken place but did not. The security implication of over 20 million unemployed youths is unimaginable. Therefore, the government needs to devise policies that will stimulate economic growth that would increase human capital development and productivity output.

Although the Nigerian Government in previous times had put in place policies and programmes which are meant to combat this menace, but up till now these programmes have not made much impact. It can be noted therefore that most of the programs established in Nigeria during the course of the fight against unemployment in the system could not achieve their expected results. This is due to lack of adequate

commitment to the course of the programs, lack of transparency; absence of enabling environment; inadequate funding resulting mainly from mismanagement among other reasons. As a consequence therefore, rather than reducing unemployment phenomenon, the country has witnessed an alarming increase in unemployment incidence.

5. The Social Effects

The social effects of poor education and unemployment are first felt at the individual and household level before extending to the entire society and consequently the economy. The unemployed individuals are usually unable to earn money to meet financial responsibilities and the basic necessities of life. Across Nigeria, the growing ranks of people who are made homeless today arise from unemployment (Hassan, 2010).

The effects of poor education and unemployment on the individual and household include; wide-spread poverty and inequality with its attendant consequences. These manifest in the following dimensions; it increases susceptibility to malnutrition, illness and mental stress, subsequent loss of self-esteem leading to depression; it can lead to escapists and/or other self-destructive behaviour used as coping mechanism. It can lead to dysfunctional social and emotional relationships; loss of self-confidence; feeling of shame, un-fulfilment and inadequacy. It could jeopardise access to health care; loss of social and economic security; it limits educational opportunity for the children and other members of the family. Furthermore, it limits the family access to good housing; it increases vulnerability of family members especially women, children and elderly; and it can create tension and conflict

On the society, poor education and unemployment brings about widespread criminality, societal ills and social vices such as hooliganism, armed robbery and prostitution. In most cases, young graduates who are caught in criminal acts such as armed robbery, kidnapping and prostitution attribute their involvement in those crimes to the unemployment situation in Nigeria. In recent times, the high rate of communal crisis, youth restiveness, hire killings and assassinations, kidnapping, vandalism, 419 and other forms of criminality and even the Niger Delta uprising and the 'Boko Haram' insurgents in the northern part of the country were attributed to poor education and unemployment, especially among the youths in the country.

6. Economic Effects

An economy with poor education and unemployment is not using all of the resources, specifically labour available to it. Since it is operating below its production possibility frontier, it could have higher output if the entire workforce were utilised. If as a result of lack of jobs, the frictionally unemployed people accept and work below capacity (i.e. underemployment), and operate below their skill level, it reduces the economy's efficiency. It leads to loss of potential output in a developing economy. More so, during a long period of unemployment, workers can also lose their skills, causing a loss of human capital. It could also lead to low level of income and high rate of income inequality which further aggravates the high rate of poverty and unemployment with its attendant consequences.

Unemployment and poor education system which are caused by individuals and government forces have joined the list of the social evils we experience in Nigeria today. The issues of unemployment have become a world-wide phenomenon demanding for increased attention, though the impact is more devastating in developing nation (Fajana 2013). Nigeria rate of unemployment stand at 19.7% National Bureau of Statistics (2012). In fact, George and Oseni (2012); Ezie (2012) and Ede, Ndubisi, and Nwankwo (2013) identify unemployment and poor education system as parts of the major challenges confronting the Nigeria-economic development. Nigerian has the potential for rapid economic growth and development, with her rich human and material resources, yet the country's economic performance has been described as being truncated, erratic, dismal and largely unimpressed (Ajayi, 2012). Akintoye (2018) in Bassey and Aten (2012) opined that the rate of unemployment rise from 4.3% to 6.4% and further rose to 7.1% in 1987. This rise in unemployment rate came as a result of poor education system and economic depression which engulfed the nation and spread its effects that resulted to massive closure of businesses and retrenchment of workers.

The poor growth performance of the Nigerian economy is depicted in the rising incidence of poor education system, poverty, massive and graduate unemployment, skyrocketing inflation, worsening balance of payments disequilibrium, monumental external debt burden, widening income disparity and growing fiscal imbalances which take into consideration the Nigeria crises of underdevelopment (Ajayi, 2012). According to Bello (2013) the menace of unemployment and poor education system in

Nigeria both now and in the recent past has been an issue of great concern to the economists, policy makers, economic managers, individuals, government and many others. The menace of unemployment and poor education system in Nigeria is geometrically increasing and the effects falls heavily on the economic development of the nation.

7. Political Effects

One of the major effects of poor education and unemployment to a country like Nigeria with wide spread corruption and bad governance, is palpable, increase apathy, cynicism and despondency. Many people become increasingly individualistic and exclusively pre-occupied with the problems of survival or subsistence. They show little or no concern for government issues, activities and policies and programmes. Poor education and unemployment has been blamed for civil unrest in Nigeria, in some cases leading to revolution e.g. Boko Haram crisis in the Northern part of the country. The high rate of kidnapping, civil unrest and political thuggery can be traced to unemployment situation in Nigeria (Adesanmi, 2010). The former military President, General Ibrahim Babangida (Rtd) and Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, disclosed at different fora that poverty and idleness were product of political instability which in turn gave birth to incessant religious and ethnic confrontation which in recent times led to mutual and mass slaughter of Nigerian people. Blaming unemployment for all these crises, IBB said, "idle hands were always the devil's instrument and that if people were fully engaged they would hardly have the time to see others as their enemies" insisting that government must develop the economy so as to provide jobs for the youths and older population (Folabi, 2013). Addressing the world leaders, employers and Labour at the 100th International Labour Conference (ILC) in Geneva, Switzerland, Obasanjo was quoted as saying that "Nigeria was sitting on a keg of a gun powder given the rate of unemployment which according to him leads to revolution and that hopeless idle hands is not only a devil's workshop, but also a 'tinder box'" (National Bureau of Statistics, 2015)

8. Conclusion and Recommendations

The paper established that majority of violent acts threatening national security have been ascribed to youth unemployment which is engendered by lack of education or poor level of education. As a developing country, Nigeria faces her own share of social, political, economic and cultural problems which has in no small measure affected the well-being of the

populace. Such problems be-deviling the country include poor education and unemployment which has resulted in the rising wave of crime, which have serious implications for national security. Unemployment rate in Nigeria has continued to be on the increase despite the abundant human and natural resources available in the country. The social effects of poor education and unemployment are first felt at the individual and household level before extending to the entire society and consequently the economy. The effects of poor education and unemployment on the individual and household include; wide-spread poverty and inequality with its attendance consequences. On the society, poor education and unemployment brings about widespread criminality, societal ills and social vices such as hooliganism, armed robbery and prostitution. In most cases, young graduates who are caught in criminal acts such as armed robbery, kidnapping and prostitution attribute their involvement in those crimes to the unemployment situation in Nigeria. Poor education and unemployment has been blamed for civil unrest in Nigeria, in some cases leading to revolution e.g. Boko Haram crisis in the Northern part of the country. The high rate of kidnapping, civil unrest and political thuggery can be traced to unemployment situation in Nigeria. The menace of cybercrime has dented the image of the country before the international communities.

Efficient and effective education could help to mitigate the challenge of unemployment and as well enhance Nigeria's economic security. Education would supply the needed manpower for national economic development. Therefore, it could be clear that without education, a nation cannot get the needed manpower for material advancement and enlightenment of the citizenry. Education also develops in individuals those values which make for good citizenship, such as honesty, selflessness, tolerance, dedication, hard-work and personal integrity, all of which provide the rich soil from which good leadership potential is groomed.

The paper therefore recommends that:

- The Federal Government of Nigeria should set up a special Agricultural Development Youth Fund (ADYF) that will be saddled with the responsibility of investing massively in agriculture and also encourage youths into this direction.
- The Federal Ministry of Education should set up a body that will be charged with the responsibility of total overhauling of the curriculum at all levels of education.

- The governments at both federal and state level should set up a joint body that will be saddle with the responsibility of checking rural urban migration through the provision of essential social amenities that will make life in the rural areas attractive to the youths.
- Then Federal government of Nigeria should provide more funding for the educational sector in Nigeria.

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Physical Exercise or Activity and Healthy Ageing

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Abstract. This paper looked into the issue of physical activity as aiding healthy ageing. Ageing is an imperative word for everybody that implies that no one can run away from ageing, thus, everybody should be prepared for it as soon as possible by minimizing sedentary living for an active one to make one's old age interesting and independent. Most of the diseases of the ageing population could be averted or minimized with regular physical activity or exercise (Physical activity is used synonymously with exercise in this paper). Ageing can be related to life changing situations like retirement and change of environment which can breed loneliness and lonesomeness thus, the need for providing enabling environment for adults to engage in physical activity/exercise to help them mix properly, share their ideas and mitigate loneliness. The paper expressed the fact that healthy aging brings joy to older adults who are the repertoire of knowledge and wisdom in every society. The authors reviewed training for physical activity/exercise and necessary precautions towards exercise by the elderly. The paper recommended among others that every individual should be involved in daily physical activity in order to stay healthy, the government at all levels in Nigeria and all over the world must make policies that would aid healthy ageing and individuals must learn to practice healthy behavior by way of eating balanced diet.

Keywords: physical activity/exercise, ageing, healthy ageing, diseases, older adults, training.

1. Introduction

Ageing is something no one can run away from. Realizing this fact, each person must be prepared to make his/ her old age an interesting period full of lively activities. This calls for adequate preparation

towards ageing. In preparation for healthy ageing, each person must be educated to minimize sedentary life as much as possible in order to make physical activities a part of one's life before reaching the older age as there are so many conditions associated with ageing but which could be minimized with physical activity right from one's middle age and not necessarily when old age arrives.

World health organization (2014) lists common health conditions that an ageing person can experience such as back and neck pain, osteoarthritis, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, diabetes, depression and dementia among others. These conditions can be minimized or averted if there is a conditioning to daily physical activity on a moderate level.

WHO (2021), delivering 2021-2030 as a decade of healthy ageing states that the decade is to reduce health inequities and improve the lives of older people, their families and communities through collective action. Four pillars had been set aside to achieve healthy ageing among the elderly. These are, changing how one thinks, feels and acts towards age and ageism, developing communities in ways that foster the abilities of the older people, delivery of person centred integrated care and primary health services responsive to older people. All these key pillars are to be holistically treated to bring about healthy ageing among the older population. Thinking that old age will come and taking prompt action in preparation for it is key. This calls for the government and communities in providing a favourable environment free of violence for older people and put in place quality health care services for easy access for the elderly. These will encourage older adults to engage in exercise/ physical activities that will make them fit for all time. There is also the

need for providing a supportive and encouraging social environment which will enhance the older adults to mingle thus preventing them from loneliness and lonesomeness. A supportive social environment will help adults to share their experiences and stories and possibly engage in walking and playing local games with people around them thereby fostering their happiness.

Older people are seen as incapacitated and dependent. Societies and their families sometimes see them as a burden to them which should not be if society really wants them to enjoy their lives. Therefore, older people should be kept company, and places of interest should be put in place for them for their leisure and environments should be conducive for them to engage in simple physical activity which will culminate in healthy ageing.

2. Ageing

WHO(2021) explains that ageing is a resultant effect of the accumulation of a wide variety of molecular and cellular damage over time which leads to gradual decrease in physical and mental capacity hence the elderly could not think as they used to do in their active years nor physically active as they used to be. This inactivity leads to a series of piled up diseases which eventually leads to death.

WHO also explains that ageing can be associated with life-changing situations such as retirement, relocation to new places, death of friends and partners and lack of family fellowship. These calls for providing avenues for better social interaction with these elderly in order to mitigate the effect of these changes in them to make them age well.

Ageing , therefore is the process of becoming older which is likely to bring about inactivity. Ageing is accompanied by gradual changes in most body systems (National Institute of Ageing, 2022) which involves physical, psychological and social changes. Ageing has also being viewed as the time related deterioration of the physiological functions necessary for survival and fertility. However, WHO (2021) states that the characteristics of ageing should not be misconceived as diseases of ageing such as cancer and heart disease

Ageing is thus the time when the older people experience the incoming of several health issues, diseases and problems and this is usually referred to as geriatric syndrome which may be related to health issues like urinary incontinence, falls, mental concussions which can be accompanied by hallucinations which bring unnecessary fear to the elderly. When experiencing the geriatric syndrome,

their thoughts become incoherent, expressions become unstable and they suffer alienation of minds. Some older people age well without experiencing much of these syndromes. Some older people suffer at old age not due to genetic factors but due to their physical and social environments. Older people living in environments that are not encouraging and supportive are likely to experience wild and 'bitter' ageing.

Realizing that older people are the think tank and repertoire of knowledge in societies, they must be encouraged and helped to age well in order for the younger generation to tap from their wealth of knowledge and experience. Therefore, society at large must not allow old age to be controlled by declines in mental and physical capacities so that societies will not be negatively impacted. The policymakers in every society of the world,(Nigeria inclusive),and family members must ensure the provision of a supportive environment for the elderly economically, socially, physically and psychologically. Making preparation for wholesome ageing will lift the burden of ageing of the older adults off the necks of their families.

2.1 Healthy Ageing

Planning for healthy ageing is germane for each person and especially for the older adults; the result of which is happiness, not only for the aged but for people near them, hence, they would not be perceived as burdens to the society and the relatives. Many aged people walk the streets of cities, begging because there was no preparation for the time of old age and Nigeria policymakers had not earlier made provisions for old age for people while the poor relatives could not afford to support their living. Teaching the elderly to be independent through healthy living, will go a long way to avert these old age health and social problems.

Daskapoulou and Prima (2017), in their study titled "Physical activity and healthy ageing: A systematic review and meta-analysis of longitudinal cohort studies" submit that exercise/ physical activities are important components of healthy ageing.

Healthy ageing will mitigate falls, pains, cognitive impairment and other vices associated with unhealthy ageing. The authors proposed that a well-balanced exercise programme that includes daily aerobic ,strength balance and flexibility should be interjected into daily physical activity.

Eckstrom, Neukan, Katzin and Wright (2022) in their submission in their study on "Physical activity and healthy ageing" state that healthy ageing involves maintaining independence, purpose, vitality and quality of life into old age despite unexpected old age medical challenges, accidents and other unhelpful social determinants of health. They expressed further that because ageing is a complex process involving variables such as genetics, lifestyle factors and chronic diseases; these interact to determine the varying ways individual ages. Helping adults to age well thus need counselling in order for them to meet the needed minutes of regular physical activity. Counselling the adults will help them improve on their daily/ weekly physical activity as this will eventually improve their health, functional capacity, quality of life and independence. Participation in regular physical activity will help reduce a lot of functional declines associated with ageing. Tokana (2009) states that participating in physical activities and on regular basis is an effective way to reduce or prevent health problems associated with old age.

Augustino, Wu, Koukounari, Haro, Tyravolas, Panajiotakos, Prince and Prina (2020) in their study titled "The impact of physical activity on healthy ageing trajectories: evidence from eight cohort studies", found that:

- a) physical activity is strongly associated with healthier ageing trajectories
- b) it leads to better cognitive function trajectories
- c) leads to improved frailty trajectories and
- d) that physically active older adults had almost 40% increased odds of experiencing healthy ageing compared to their non-physically active counterparts.

The findings suggest that there is potential for physical activity to increase baseline health and functioning thereby reducing the rate at which older adults decline. To make the older adults evade hospitalization and being inactive, older adults should be encouraged to be involved in moderate physical activity. The authors state the public health implication from the empirical evidence in the study that, physical activity has a positive impact on supporting healthy ageing thereby, reducing health age functioning declines in old age.

3. Training for physical activity

Everyone needs good health but achieving this is a matter of personal decision and to make this important decision will enable one to stay healthy for life. Physical activity is good for one's both mental and physical health, helping the individual to be able to do what he or she wants without necessarily being dependent on others. The National Institute of

Ageing (2022) alluding to physical Activity Guidelines for Americans states that it is good that a person is involved in doing at least 150 minutes of moderate intensity aerobic exercise like brisk walking or fast dancing; that being active at least three days a week is good. Among the recommendations of the guidelines is that engaging in muscle strengthening activities like weight lifting or doing sit up for at least two days a week is equally good.

However, the older aged people cannot start doing these overnight, hence before reaching the older age, professionals in physical exercise should have been educating and training middle-aged people to engage in these activities in order to be fit for old age practices to keep them healthy and independent as they grow older. This implies that older adults should be trained for physical activity/exercise, the success of which would be measured by their rate of adaptability and responsiveness to both endurance and strength training.

Training for older adults like others is of various types such as:

- **Endurance Training:** this involves walking, jogging, biking, swimming, aerobic dance and golfing among others. Endurance training improves cardiovascular function keep arteries flexible for free blood flow and it lowers the resting heart rate. It also helps to lower blood pressure, lowers blood sugar levels and reduces body fat. Endurance exercise improves the mood so that older adults look happy, induces sleep thereby reducing anxiety and depression more so when they engage in these activities with peers. The study of Augustino et al (2020) reveals that the above can be achieved with regular activities of about 3-4 hours every week.
- **Resistance Exercise:** This involves using light weights. It enhances muscle mass, strength and preserves bone calcium.
- **Flexibility Training:** This has to do with stretching exercises with which one can warm-up or cool down before or after endurance exercise.
- **Exercises for Balance:** The helps to maintain balance in order to prevent falls and injuries in adults (National Institute of Ageing)

According to Harvard Alumni Study in 1978, it was found that men who exercise regularly are 39% less likely to suffer heart attacks than those who are involved in sedentary lifestyles ([health.Harvard.edu](https://www.health.harvard.edu),

2022). The research also reveals that many of the changes attributed to ageing are caused mostly by diseases (Harvard.edu). There is, therefore, a great need for proper exercise in order to live a life of vitality.

The study also found that resuming exercise training in the five- 50 year old men who were placed on bed rest for three weeks, had gained weight of between 14-28% with their cardiac functioning suffering with a rise in resting heart rate, rise in blood pressure and a fall in maximum pumping capacity. After being exposed to exercise, at the end of six months, the men had an average of 10pound weight loss (of the excess weight gained), their resting heart rates, blood pressure and their hearts' maximum pumping abilities were back to their baseline level. This implies that participating in physical activity/ exercise leads to improved health thus mitigating declining health in people generally.

4. Precautions

Harvard Health (2014) states that precautions should be put in place when older adults engage in daily physical activity. Some of these precautions are listed below. That older adults should

- a) get medical checkup before embarking on moderate or vigorous exercise
- b) drink plenty of water before, during and after exercise
- c) warm-up before exercise and cool down after

Others are that older adults should use good shoes, engage in varieties of activities and when they feel sick, they should not engage in any exercise.

Apart from physical exercise/ activity ageing adults should pay rapt attention to their diet because a wholesome diet plays a great role in slowing down the ageing process.

Hard health recommends that adults should desist from consuming saturated fats and food items filled with fatty acids and cholesterol. They should endeavor to consume more fish and nuts in which mono saturated fats are found. Both adults and youth should eat lots of fruits and vegetables, cut down on salt and processed foods. Adults should complement their meals with simple multivitamins on a daily basis.

Ageing is a matter of mind. As you think you are, so you will age. Older adults should be educated to have a positive thought about ageing by keeping their minds active and building strong social networks in order to enjoy accompaniment.

5. Benefits of Physical Activity/ Exercise

The benefits of engaging in physical activity/ exercise cannot be underestimated as being engulfed in exercise prevent age-related diseases.

Mazzeo and Tanako (2001) highlight some of the benefits of physical activity such as reduction in the risk of coronary heart disease, diabetes mellitus and insulin resistance diabetes, hypertension and obesity, improvement in bone density, muscle mass and energy metabolism. The benefits also include cardiovascular fitness and functional capacity that will help the elderly to maintain their body posture in accordance with their age, maintain independence as regards to daily living.

The study of Warburton, Nicol and Bradin (2006) on " Health benefits of physical activity: The evidence" submit

That there seems to be a linear relationship between physical activity and improved health status:

that with further increase in physical activity, there will be a better improvement in health status; and that an increase in physical activity which leads to physical fitness will reduce the risk of premature death.

Erikson, Liestol, Bjornholt (2001) in their study "Changes in physical fitness and changes in mortality" reveal that physical activity is associated with improved psychological wellbeing, through reduced stress, anxiety and depression. They explained that psychological wellbeing is germane to the management and prevention of cardiovascular disease and other diseases such as osteoporosis, cancer, depression and hypertension.

In the study of Janssen and LeBlanc (2010), it was established that physical activity is of immense benefit to both the young and old but that physical activity should be of moderate intensity and that aerobic based activities that stress cardiovascular and respiratory systems have the greatest benefits other than for bone health.

6. Summary

In order to address the adverse health conditions that are associated with economy, social and health care, good health policy targeting both young and old must be solidly put in place, funded and monitored for proper implementation by government at various levels. Individuals should develop interest in physical activities as they are being educated with its importance by professionals. The implication of this paper includes among others that individuals should

uphold good health ideas to age well and be functional to be able to do the needful everyday without having to wait for others to help them out because depending on others for all could be frustrating and thus lead to premature death especially when needed help seems not to be available by those who are expected to give such help. Inactivity breeds sickness and brings a lot not medical expenses with it, thus, physical activity should be embarked upon to lessen hospital bills while promoting good health and healthy ageing.

7. Recommendations

Based on the above, the following are recommended:

- The older adults must be educated and counseled on the importance of engaging in physical activity.
- The government at the Federal, State and Local levels should promulgate good health policies that will be of great benefit to older adults while also making access to health care facilities easy and less costly for the older generation.
- Older adults should be encouraged to engage in healthy behaviour especially through eating balanced diet, refraining from things such as tobacco and alcohol that can harm their health.
- Educating and encouraging older adults on healthy behaviour will reduce the risk of non-communicable diseases thereby, increasing their physical and mental capacities thus, removing early care dependency.
- Supportive social environment should be made available for the older adults to enable them network with friends and family members in order to limit the effect of loneliness.
- Also supportive, violent and injury free physical environments should be provided for older adults in order to encourage them to participate in physical activity. Children of older adults should give them necessary social support by not neglecting to visit them.
- Various programmes should be put in place to educate the older adults of the functional benefits associated with regular physical activity/ exercise.
- Professionals in Sports and Exercises should design interventions that will increase involvement of older adults in regular physical activity as well as encourage and

improve adherence and compliance to such programmes.

- Above all, health programmes should target people of all ages in order to be fully prepared for healthy ageing.

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Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and Sub-Regional Conflict Management and Peacekeeping Missions in West Africa

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Abstract. This paper titled “Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and Sub-Regional Conflict Management and Peacekeeping Missions in West Africa” focused mainly on ECOWAS’s involvement in the resolution of intrastate conflicts in West Africa. The paper therefore seeks to bring to the limelight and analyze the basic problems with respect to Conflict management in Africa. The first is the inability of Peace keeping operation’s to adequately resolve Africa’s conflicts. The study analyzed most of the conflicts in the sub-region but major emphasis was only on examples drawn from the ECOMOG intervention in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau. After reviewing the evolution of UN peacekeeping and peacemaking missions in Africa during the Cold War era and post-Cold-War periods, the paper analyzed ECOWAS’ first three interventions, in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau, setting out its achievements and shortcomings. Through an analysis of more recent interventions in Cote d’Ivoire and Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau by ECOWAS, the paper revealed that sub-regional intervention to enforce law and order is a complex task, even in such small states. The unpreparedness of ECOWAS to engage in peace keeping operations was evident in the lack of rule-enforcing mechanisms to deal with such cases of indiscipline amongst its troops. The study found out that the reaction of the international community through the aegis of the UN, AU, ECOWAS and other multilateral bodies to conflicts in Africa was found to be ineffective to achieve lasting peace and stability for the continent. While the ECOWAS have been making efforts to deploy troops to Africa to contain conflict situations and nip fresh conflicts in the bud, the organisation has lacked the necessary funding required to execute this mission on time. The

paper recommended the creation of awareness on peace agreements, developing professional security forces, Provision of expert training for mediators, Adoption of realistic frameworks and implementation schedules and Exposure those who foment insurgencies as the way-forward for ECOWAS and conflict management and Peace-building in West Africa.

Keywords: Conflict, Management, Peacebuilding, Peacekeeping, Regional Integration

1. Introduction

The lure of regionalism as a regional cooperation and integration where country shared political, economic and security interests has had a collaborative effect on the foreign policy of African countries. After the end of the cold war and the marginalization of Africa, coupled with the vicious cycle of poverty, underdevelopment, disease and internecine conflicts have generally been cited as the fundamental reasons for the aggressive effort for such architects of regional integration and the establishment of an African peace and security mechanism (Abbas, 2017). There have been many attempts at regional integration. The most probably known instance is the European Union (EU), which in some issues has grown beyond an intergovernmental approach to decision making at a supra-state level, and in the recent time New Partnership for African development (NEPAD) in the African context. But argument are put forward that many of this regional cooperation are homegrown, given specific history, political economics and regional context.

There is no doubt that the UN peacekeeping role in Africa has changed over the last four decades. During

the Cold War era, efforts towards peacekeeping were often marred by political competition between the United States and the Soviet Union due to their support of their respective allies in the region (Adebajo, 2019). These two superpowers were generally opposed to UN involvement in the domestic affairs of their respective allies and client states, being more concerned with maintaining the integrity of their own spheres of influence. The spread of their respective ideologies and the preservation of their national interests influenced the way the UN perceived peacemaking and peacekeeping operations in conflicts throughout the world. Both the United States and the Soviet Union were reluctant to support any UN initiatives unless their national interests were satisfied. As a result, only one UN peacekeeping operation (Congo 1960-1964) took place in Africa before 1989. Despite the particular influences of the two superpowers during the Cold War, the UN tried to act independently in managing regional conflicts (Adedeji, 2017).

In some cases, the UN became heavily dependent on the willingness and commitment of the United States and the Soviet Union to participate in the settlement of such conflicts. In other cases, the rivalry between the two superpowers prevented the Security Council from taking any urgent and concrete actions. After the Cold War, the recrudescence of intra-state conflicts became a crucial problem for regional security. The withdrawal of the two superpowers from Africa had a destabilizing role on many countries. Such countries received, over the period of the Cold War, military and financial support to sustain their regimes. Therefore the shrinkage of external support, in addition to other domestic problems, contributed to the degradation of social, economic and security in many countries, which resulted in internal strives and conflicts (Wilson, 2013). The eruption of many civil wars created a huge burden on the UN and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to prevent and solve these conflicts. Neither the UN nor the OAU were able to intervene in a timely manner in order to secure peace and lessen the impacts of civil wars. The delay of response led to the emergence of sub regional organizations as an alternative to enhance regional peacemaking and peacekeeping capabilities and ensure peace and stability.

The UN and the international community played only a passive role in stopping the recurrence of internal conflicts in Africa, and helping to reduce the violence prevalent in many West African countries. The perceived inadequacy of their combined response, however, prompted sub-regional organizations, such as the Economic Community of the West African

States (ECOWAS), to intervene in many countries to halt the fighting between various factions and attempt to reach a peaceful resolution to these conflicts (Gambari, 2011). In West Africa, ECOWAS emerged as a new actor in dealing with security issues on the regional level. Previously ECOWAS has been devoted entirely to economic development. Consequently, ECOWAS attempted to play a more significant role in Conflict management and peacekeeping missions, first in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea- Bissau, then in Cote d' Ivoire and again a second effort in Liberia. ECOWAS underwent various transformations over the intervening years in an effort to improve its effectiveness in meeting the needs of securing peace and stability in the sub-region.

1.1 Justification of the Paper

The state of affairs in West Africa can simply be described as a paradox, mind-boggling, and hence worth studying about in order to understand and find a solution to it. The member states are endowed with several rich natural resources like petroleum, gold, diamond, timber, rivers and so forth, and yet the member states are part of the poorest countries in the world. The problems of the challenges of incessant violence and killing of people in the sub-region organized by militant terror, ethnic group, rebel and religious groups in demanding for social justice, sustainable development and economic empowerment has call for global attention as it is already taking it tolls on the global security and international economy issues in the African nations and if not look into properly will give a bad images for the cooperation by this stakeholder in the region. The multiplication of conflicts in Africa and the inability of Peacekeeping Operation (PKO) to resolve these conflicts remains a great challenge to African governments, ECOWAS and the United Nations. Following the end of the Cold War, peacekeeping has become central to the international community's response to many complex violent conflicts including those in Africa. Consequently, it has become more common for Conflict management theorist to refer to peacekeeping as an important instrument of positive Conflict transformation. This has led to the re-emergence of such conflicts. Another problem is the failure of the international community to promptly fund PKO in African Continent. The ECOMOG missions in Liberia and Sierra Leone revealed that sub-regional intervention to enforce law and order is a complex task, even in such small states. How then will the Community deal with a similar conflict situation if it arose in a bigger member state like Nigeria? The unpreparedness of ECOWAS to engage

in peace keeping operations was evident in the lack of rule-enforcing mechanisms to deal with such cases of indiscipline amongst its troops. Perhaps, one of the major failures was the inability of ECOMOG to apply the lessons learnt in Liberia to the Sierra Leone operation and other interventions; consequently, such errors were repeated in Sierra Leone (Zartman 2015).

2. Literature Review

The study of regional integration in the third world has indicated that little success has been achieved largely due to limited authority of their institutional structures. Okolo pointed out that in most cases member-states retain the right to veto legislations approved by their representatives at the regional level (Okolo, 2015). Nye has also argued that strong extra-regional actors have played a tremendous role to either promote or hamper progress towards integration in the third world countries (Nye, 2011), since it is a truism that third world countries are highly dependent upon industrialized states for development capital, markets for raw materials and technology. This asymmetrical relationship on the rest of the world renders third world countries particularly vulnerable to external economic influences and impedes regional cooperation. These factors oftentimes provide significant impediments in the way of a successful integration process.

Ravenhill, 1979 views conflict management in three combine elements: prevention, containment and termination. The first relates to avoiding the conflict situation, the containment refer to restrain in the use of force with the aim to deny victory to the aggressor and to prevent the spread of conflict and the last which is the termination involves two stages i.e involving both settlement and resolution. This settlement involves bringing violent hostilities to an end and the resolution which is far more than settlement is very difficult to control, so with the help of this regional integration, cooperation will help in preventing the conflicts.

Most conflict management in African countries adopts realist, legalist or humanitarian approaches to conflicts management. Author like (Ayasi, 2014) focus on the institutional evolution and legal arrangement of regional and sub-regional organization, but implicit in the assumption that the success or the failure of this integration depends on the structure implemented by the institution like the present AU protocol on politics, defence and security and defence pact of the SADC on August 2003. Somerville (2010) in 10 in realist perspective argues that the third party intervention outsiders actors are

determined by the structure of the international system and predicated on colonial and cold war issues. Some authors (Adebajo 2012, Alao, Mackinlay and Olonisakin 2019) focus on the power carryout by some African leaders in explanation of third party involvement, thus analyses by the realities on the ground especially in the DRC region.

3. Theoretical Framework - Collective Security Theory of the United Nations

The concept of "collective security" forwarded by men such as Michael Joseph Savage, Martin Wight, Immanuel Kant, and Woodrow Wilson, are deemed to apply interests in security in a broad manner, to "avoid grouping powers into opposing camps, and refusing to draw dividing lines that would leave anyone out." The term "collective security" has also been cited as a principle of the United Nations, and the League of Nations before that. By employing a system of collective security, the UN hopes to dissuade any member state from acting in a manner likely to threaten peace, thereby avoiding any conflict (Bourquin, 1936).

Collective security can be understood as a security arrangement in which all states cooperate collectively to provide security for all by the actions of all against any states within the groups which might challenge the existing order by using force. This contrasts with self-help strategies of engaging in war for purely immediate national interest. While collective security is possible, several prerequisites have to be met for it to work. Sovereign nations eager to maintain the status quo, willingly cooperate, accepting a degree of vulnerability and in some cases of minor nations, also accede to the interests of the chief contributing nations organizing the collective security. Collective Security is achieved by setting up an international cooperative organization, under the auspices of international law and this gives rise to a form of international collective governance, albeit limited in scope and effectiveness (Ghosh, 2019). The collective security organization then becomes an arena for diplomacy, balance of power and exercise of soft power. The use of hard power by states, unless legitimized by the Collective Security organization, is considered illegitimate, reprehensible and needing remediation of some kind. The collective security organization not only gives cheaper security, but also may be the only practicable means of security for smaller nations against more powerful threatening neighbours without the need of joining the camp of the nations balancing their neighbours.

5. Methodology

This paper adopted the rigorous method of content analysis of written records as a means of ensuring the validity and reliability of our data. Content analysis is a research for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. (Festinger and Katz, 1996), argue that content analysis and coding are used interchangeably to refer to the objective systematic and qualitative description of any symbolic behaviour.

6. Evolution of ECOWAS/ECOMOG'S Institutional Structures for Regional Conflict Management

In the aftermath of the three interventions in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau, ECOWAS initiated several processes to improve the effectiveness of its organizational structure. This was accomplished through the institution of a standing and permanent structure to better deal with regional security issues. Its efforts finally succeeded when the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention Management and Resolution Peacekeeping and Security were established. The Mechanism replaced previous protocols relating to security matters; it was adopted by the majority of member states during their Summit in Lome in 1999. The Mechanism is comprised of many institutions and organs, all aiming at improving economic development, stability, peace and security in West African countries. Wheeler, (2012) highlighted the factors dealing with the consolidation of peace and security as the following:

i. **Institutions:** The Mediation and Security Council, made up of nine members, is responsible for overseeing the activities of the organs and for making decisions relating to security issues, particularly the deployment of ECOMOG, and appointment of Force Commander. The Executive Secretary, among other responsibilities, is accountable for the functioning of the Community and for the implementation of decisions of the Authority; he also has power to initiate actions for conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping and security in the sub region peace operation and recommend the appointment of the Special Representative of the ECOWAS and the Force Commander.

ii. **Organs Supporting those Institutions:** The Defense and Security Commission is comprised of defense chiefs of staff of member states of ECOWAS, and is responsible for the preparation of the mission and the generation of forces to be deployed for peace operations.

7. ECOWAS' Peacekeeping and Enforcement Operations in the West African Region

ECOWAS' peacekeeping operations effectively commenced with its mission in Liberia, however, the framework for its involvement in peacekeeping and peace enforcement developed over a long period of time. This is traceable right from its adoption of the Protocol on Non-Aggression (1978) which was aimed at facilitating security and defence cooperation as well as enhancing peace among its members. Though the Protocol on Non-Aggression was vital for enhancing security cooperation, it was not sufficient for dealing with the major security challenges facing the community. Therefore, the Protocol relating to Mutual Assistance on Defence (1981) was created to provide the mechanism for a combined military action during a major threat to sub-regional security (Frempong 2013).

The Protocol of Mutual Assistance on Defence (Articles 2 and 3) adopted the principles of collective security and collective defence. It declared (Article 2) that a threat against a member state will be considered a threat against the entire community. Also, the protocol (Article 13) provided for an Allied Armed Forces of the community to be provided by units from the defence forces of member states during emergencies. Unlike NATO, ECOWAS does not have a standby army. The Protocol of Mutual Assistance on Defence only provided for voluntary contributions by national forces during emergencies. This has proven to be a major challenge getting the member states to comply with the requirement of this protocol. During the Liberian crisis, the bulk of the forces were provided by Nigeria as some of the members did not provide forces initially or provided only few personnel (UNECA, 2014). Also, this trend was visible during the recent crisis in Mali. Though, ECOWAS member states agreed in principle to deploy peacekeeping troops to Mali, the time required for the mobilization of the troops from the various member states was forecasted to be up to a six months period. Consequently, the French came to the rescue; which has raised questions about ECOWAS's position to respond on a timely basis to conflicts in the sub-region.

At the outbreak of the Liberian civil war, the only available reference materials for ECOWAS's peacekeeping operation were the Protocol on Non-Aggression (1978) and the Protocol relating to Mutual Assistance on Defense (1981). The practical situation of its effort in Liberia revealed the inadequacy of ECOWAS's preparedness for

peacekeeping operations, especially as its Treaty (1975) did not envisage such a situation. Therefore, the ECOWAS Revised Treaty (1993), which dealt with the new challenges, was adopted. Under the revised Treaty, the two existing protocols on defence matters were reviewed and made operational to handle the defense cooperation program and to ensure regional peace and security (Bundu 2017). Though ECOWAS's peacekeeping operation is a nascent phenomenon, peacekeeping operations in Africa can be traced as far back as the 1960 establishment of a United Nations peace keeping mission in Congo following the United Nations Security Council Resolution 143 of July 14, 1960. Contrary to the general perception that peacekeeping and peace enforcement are the responsibility of the United Nations, ECOWAS emerged as the major peacekeeping body in West Africa following its experimental mission in Liberia, which was later extended to Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau.

One of the major challenges of ECOWAS's military mission has been the absence of a clear mandate and the fact that the operations were difficult to define. ECOWAS's military missions oscillated between peacekeeping and peace enforcement, raising questions about the mandate of the mission (Denis and Brown, 2013). However, the nature of the conflicts (in Liberia and Sierra Leone) required ECOWAS to adopt both peacekeeping and peace-enforcement strategies at different stages of the conflict. Peace enforcement will not be possible without the peace enforcer having the capacity and might to induce compliance. ECOWAS has exhibited both the characters of a peacekeeper and an enforcer. Also its knowledge of the area gives a certain advantage over any outside intervener that may not be knowledgeable of the political, economic, social and cultural dynamics of the area (Kieh, 2012).

8. ECOWAS's Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and Conflict Management in the West African Region

The ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was established during the 13th ECOWAS Summit in Banjul, the Gambia (6–7 August 1990) and was mandated to intervene militarily to facilitate a ceasefire agreement between the parties in the Liberian conflict. The crisis in Liberia was deeply rooted in a long existing political and socio-economic discontent which manifested initially in riots, including the rice riots (1979) and later resulting in the emergence of Samuel Doe (1980) following a military coup (Reno 2019). This situation developed into a major conflict in 1989

following an insurrection by Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) which sought to overthrow President Samuel Doe. Following the assassination of President Doe (September 9, 1990), the NPFL controlled about ninety percent of the entire country. However, the situation became more complex with several new entrants into the conflict, including the 1991 entry of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and the formation of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO) in 1996 as well as other factions that emerged from the NPFL (Adebajo 2012).

The emergence of ECOMOG and its military intervention in sub-regional conflicts was an unprecedented action by an African regional organization. During the formation and tasking of ECOMOG, ECOWAS leaders observed that the conflict in Liberia has led to the massive destruction of lives properties, particularly; it has caused the massacre of thousands of innocent civilians, including foreign nationals, women and children. They also argued that the conflict has trapped thousands of ECOWAS citizens and other foreign nationals without any means of escape or protection. They also declared that the ECOMOG operation in Liberia was imperative due to the fact that the Liberian government was unable to deal with the situation in the country, creating a mass exodus of traumatized Liberian refugees to other West African countries. Therefore, on 25 August 1990 about 3,000 ECOMOG forces arrived in Liberia to commence a historical operation that launched ECOWAS into a sub-regional peace keeping body (Khobe, 2010).

ECOMOG operations comprise three main methods: intervention, peacekeeping and peace enforcement, which have been applied to deal with a series of sub-regional conflicts. The ECOWAS intervention missions were based on express invitation by member states that were facing armed confrontation with rebels. ECOWAS troops were deployed with the expressed aim of preventing a humanitarian crisis and total breakdown of law and order. However, these missions were focused on protecting the government of a member state from the embarrassing consequences of a potential overthrow by rebel forces.

ECOMOG peacekeeping missions were a follow up of an intervention mission or peace enforcement mission and eventually peace keeping. ECOWAS peace and enforcement missions mostly started as mere intervention following an invitation from the government of the member state. However, these

missions transformed to peace enforcement missions when the rival armed groups did not accept the proposed agreement for the resolution of the conflict. An ECOMOG peace enforcement operation is aimed at compelling the parties to comply with a ceasefire proposal (Malu 2015).

The emergence of ECOMOG was not a planned initiative but a response by ECOWAS leaders to a conflict that was capable of destabilizing the sub-region. "The decision to intervene in Liberia was not taken unanimously, and nor had the highest-level committee of ECOWAS approved Operation Liberty when the troops landed in Monrovia" (Duyvesteyn, 2014). The Liberian conflict became a major concern as the country was sliding into anarchy. The Liberian government, under Samuel Doe completely lost control of the situation, giving the two rebel factions, the Yomie Johnson faction and the Charles Taylor faction, the chance to intimidate the populace.

The rebels were almost over running the unpopular government of Samuel Doe. Consequently, President Doe requested for ECOWAS assistance in accordance with the ECOWAS Protocol on Mutual Defence Assistance. Doe's request divided the West African Heads of States. Côte d'Ivoire, that was at ill terms with Doe's government, led most francophone countries to reject the request, while the Nigerian government under Ibrahim Babangida, a friend of Samuel Doe, led some Anglophone countries to respond to this request (Khobe 2010).

In order to develop an understanding of the integrative nature of ECOWAS in its emerging peace and security format, the linguistic differences in the region played a very important role. It is illustrated in the following way: A meeting of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee, which was dominated by the Anglophone West African countries, was held in Banjul, Gambia on 7 August 1990. A decision was made to intervene in the Liberian conflict by the immediate dispatch of their military to bring the situation under control. Apart from Guinea, the other francophone countries objected to military intervention and called for a diplomatic solution. Despite this objection, the anglophone countries as well as Guinea proceeded with the mission, dispatching a military intervention force named ECOMOG with military personnel from Nigeria, The Gambia, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Guinea, under the command of General Quinoo of the Ghanaian armed forces.

The troops arrived in Liberia on 24 August 1990 and immediately occupied the Freeport in Monrovia. Though ECOMOG may be called a multinational

force, most of its military, equipment and finance was provided by Nigeria. The mandate of ECOMOG was to restore law and order, to create a conducive environment for humanitarian operations, and to facilitate a cease-fire. Though the initial troops to the ECOMOG mission were contributed by only members of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee, Senegal was later persuaded by Nigeria to contribute troops but they withdrew after losing five of their soldiers, with some of their men held hostage by the rebels.

ECOMOG received the cooperation of President Samuel Doe and Prince Yormie Johnson's rebel faction. They were opposed by the Charles Taylor's rebel faction which disagreed with the intention of ECOMOG to disarm his forces. "Taylor viewed disarmament as a threat to his claims to leadership. ECOMOG interference was a threat to his almost unstoppable advance and military success. To counter this threat, Taylor decided to attack and strive to expel the ECOMOG forces from Liberia" (Duyvesteyn, 2014).

8.1 ECOMOG Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL)

In December 1989 Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) which has established a base in Côte d'Ivoire invaded Liberia in an attempt to overthrow the government of Samuel Doe. The ensuing fight led to a severe destruction of lives and property as well as an imminent humanitarian crisis with thousands of refugees fleeing to neighbouring countries. Consequently, ECOWAS attempted a diplomatic solution to the crisis by establishing a Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) to facilitate resolution of the conflict.

Due to the slow pace of the diplomatic effort in light of the intensity of the violence, the SMC chose to discard the diplomatic effort for military intervention and on August 7th 1990, ECOMOG was created to intervene in the conflict (Tuck, 2010). The mandate of the ECOMOG mission in Liberia was to repress the warring factions, disarm the rebels, to facilitate a cease-fire, to release prisoners of war and to stop importation of arms to the conflict area. The Liberian operation commenced in Monrovia with 3,000 ECOMOG soldiers on 24 August 1990. The Liberian mission was targeted to last for six months but it extended to a period of nine years.

ECOMOG mission in Liberia was generally an experimental mission; it was the first time that ECOWAS embarked on a multinational military

mission. Lessons learnt from this mission were supposed to be applied to subsequent missions. Though the members of the SMC were the sole contributors of troops at the beginning of the mission, other West Africa states eventually sent troops to participate in the mission. Eventually a series of countries participated in the Liberian mission at one stage of the conflict. These included Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Ghana, Senegal, Gambia, Mali, Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Uganda, Tanzania and Niger. However, the bulk of the troops and equipment as well as the finance for the mission were provided by Nigeria.

By 1995 ECOMOG's strength was a force of 8, 430 soldiers with more than 50 per cent of these troops (4,908) coming from Nigeria (Tuck 2010). The ECOMOG operations in Liberia involved the protection of humanitarian aid, disarming of factions, cantonment, mediation and peace enforcement. Though ECOMOG peacekeeping operations were officially terminated in February 1998, about 5,000 troops remained in Liberia to train the Liberia military and to assist with peace building activities (Tuck 2010).

Several factors contributed to make the Liberian expedition a complex and difficult task for ECOMOG. The various parties to the conflict exploited the ethnic division in the country to continuously keep the fighting aflame thus making it difficult to attain a cease fire. The parties to the conflict exhibited double standards during the cease fire negotiations and sometimes accepted a cease fire as a pretext to enable them to re-arm again. Also, the situation was further complicated by the number of factions to the conflict and the use of tribalism by the various factions to keep the conflict aflame.

At the commencement of the conflict, the major parties were the government forces, the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) under President Samuel Doe and Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). Whereas the government forces were mainly from the Krahn tribe, the NPFL forces were mainly from the Gio and Mano ethnic groups. However, the situation became more complex with the emergence of Yormie Johnson's Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) which had broken away from the NPFL. By 1991, there were a series of factions fighting each other: the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) which broke into two factions in 1994; the ULIMO-J from the Krahn tribe under the leadership of Roosevelt Johnston and the ULIMO-K by the Mandingo ethnic group under the leadership of Alhaji Kromah (Gambari, 2011).

In 1994, ECOMOG's effort in Liberia was supplemented by the establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) following the Cotonou agreement in 1993. However, the ECOMOG and UNOMIL relationship was affected by disagreements over control of the joint ECOMOG - UNOMIL operations. There were also disagreements regarding the overall command of the joint operations. ECOMOG believed it should have the overall command since it started the mission and had a larger force than UNOMIL. However, UNOMIL position was based on the Cotonou agreement which gave it some implied supervisory and command responsibilities (Adebajo 2012)

8.2 ECOMOG's Intervention in Sierra Leone

Following its independence in 1961, the political leadership of Sierra Leone was dominated by the descendants of former African slaves who resettled in Sierra Leone after the abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Successive governments failed to provide the much needed economic growth in the country due to mismanagement and corruption. The situation in the country led to discontentment, violence and hostilities. Consequently the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), which comprised Sierra Leonean dissidents and Liberian NPFL rebels, began a revolt in March 1991 led by Foday Sankoh with the intention of overthrowing the Sierra Leonean government (Ekiyo, 2018).

However, the focus of the rebels was more inclined towards the control of diamond mining than any other political objective. The precarious situation in Sierra Leone was exacerbated by the May 25 1997 overthrow of the government of Ahmad Tejan Kabbah in a coup d'état led by Major Johnny Paul Koroma who appointed himself as Chairman of the newly constituted Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). The new military regime allied itself with the RUF rebels. The situation in Sierra Leone was fuelled mainly by the Liberian conflict, especially as the NPFL rebel leader, Charles Taylor was an ally of the RUF rebel leader, Foday Sankoh (Ayasi 2014).

The ECOMOG intervention in Sierra Leone was not only due to the degrading volatile situation in the country but also due to the involvement of the Liberian NPFL rebels in fuelling the Sierra Leone conflict and the potential that an unstable Sierra Leone could undermine any ECOMOG achievement in Liberia. Though ECOMOG recorded a number of achievements in Sierra Leone, including the restoration of the elected government to power, this

did not translate into peace and security as the rebels continued to intimidate and harass both the Sierra Leonean government and the ECOMOG forces.

The ECOMOG effort to dislodge both the AFRC and the RUF from this location continued for a while without success, especially as ECOMOG troops were not well equipped to expel the AFRC and the RUF rebels from their strongholds in the densely forested areas. As the fighting continued, the rebels attained some temporal advantages and invaded Freetown in January 1999, leading to another round of severe fighting for control of the capital. The Nigerian ECOMOG forces bombarded rebel positions in Freetown, with ground troops repeatedly shelling the outskirts of eastern Freetown. After six weeks of fighting, the rebels were expelled by ECOMOG forces from the capital. The casualty rate included 3,000 civilians, 100 Nigerian soldiers and a vast destruction of Freetown by the retreating rebels. Due to this embarrassing situation, the previous ECOMOG strategy of focusing its operations in Freetown was revised. ECOMOG started to strategically deploy its soldiers in the entire country to mitigate any surprise attack by the rebels (Malu, 2015).

Perhaps the most important limitation of ECOMOG in its Sierra Leonean operations was its inability to learn from the Liberian experience as a series of tactical errors in the Liberian operation were repeated in Sierra Leone. The ECOMOG operation had limited knowledge of the forest terrain in Sierra Leone. The RUF took advantage of this in its guerrilla tactics to prolong the conflict and thus generate more disagreements amongst the West African leaders. Also, ECOMOG operations in Sierra Leone were viciously affected by the poor morale of most ECOMOG forces due to poor wages, allowances and rations. This situation created some disciplinary problems; some ECOMOG soldiers were accused of being involved with the illicit diamond trade.

8.3 ECOMOG Operations in Guinea Bissau

In June 1998, the armed forces of Guinea Bissau rebelled against President Joao Bernardo Vieira. Following negotiations led by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Community of the Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP), a cease fire was attained to allow the deployment of a peacekeeping team to supervise the ceasefire. However, this ceasefire was short-lived as the rebel group under Ansumane Mane demanded for the peacekeeping troops to be withdrawn as a

condition for further negotiation with Nino Vieira's government. A subsequent peace agreement was signed in November 1998 allowing for the deployment of an ECOMOG peacekeeping force in the country. Unlike the previous ECOMOG deployments that were dominated by Nigeria, the ECOMOG mission to Guinea Bissau comprised mainly of francophone countries. (Esedebe, 2017).

The delays, logistics and operational problems witnessed in the ECOMOG operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone were again seen in Guinea-Bissau (December 1998 to June 1999). In this mission, the absence of Nigeria was clearly felt as the participating members could not muster enough personnel and the mission lacked vital logistical and financial strength. Though these deficiencies were also present in the Liberian and Sierra Leonean mission, the absence of Nigeria as the backbone of the other two missions, meant a worse scenario.

The conflict in Guinea-Bissau brought to light the existing rivalry between Portugal, the country's former colonial master, and France whose influence over the country surpassed Portugal after Vieira joined the CFA currency zone in 1997. Also, the membership of Guinea-Bissau in the CFA currency zone drew it closer to the francophone block, which saw the interest and involvement of more francophone states in the conflict. Senegal and Guinea supported by France, financed and transported the predominantly francophone ECOMOG force to Bissau (Esedebe 2017).

There were three main challenges to the peacemaking mission in Guinea-Bissau. At the domestic level, the two main opponents (Vieira and Mane) were reluctant to accept a peaceful resolution of their differences; they were more interested in the manipulation of the support of external forces. Despite the presence of ECOMOG peacekeepers, Mane utilized the military to accomplish his political objectives. At the sub-regional level, it became clear that Senegal and Guinea were not neutral, therefore could not be effective peacekeepers. Consequently, they were replaced by ECOMOG troops with no prior involvement in the conflict. However, the meager size of the ECOMOG troop (712 men) was not adequate to provide the needed protection of the capital and the disarming of the militants. At the extra-regional level, peace-building efforts could not be implemented despite the willingness of actors like the UN, the World Bank and the EU to support some peace-building efforts. The security situation was not conducive for donors to deliver on the pledges made at the 1999 Geneva conference (Ero, 2014).

Just like the Nigerian mistake in the Liberian and Sierra Leonean missions, Senegalese and Guinean peacekeepers overestimated their military capabilities to intervene in an existing armed conflict. They presumptuously thought the intervention will easily overcome and overpower the junta. Also, their neutrality was questioned by many who viewed their effort as a device to help a friend and neighbor (i.e. Vieira). However, they argued that their mission was justified based on an existing bilateral defense pact with Guinea Bissau. The above challenges forced them to withdraw their troops (March 1999) and were replaced by ECOMOG troops from Benin, Gambia, Niger, and Togo marking another chapter in ECOMOG peacekeeping operations (Adebajo 2019).

The departure of Senegal and Guinea did not end the interest of the francophone countries in the Guinea-Bissau conflict (though it is a lusophone country). As indicated previously, it is partly due to the interest of France in the area as well as Guinea-Bissau's membership of the CFA currency zone. Apart from the Gambia, all the other peacekeepers were from francophone countries. Even Nigeria, the leading ECOMOG peacekeeper, was absent from this mission, though the Nigerian absence was partly due to its overstretched responsibilities in the Liberian and Sierra Leonean conflicts. This shows that ECOWAS does not have the capacity to deal with several conflict situations at the same time. The conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone seem to have overstretched the sub-region to an extent that affected further deployment to Guinea-Bissau. The three countries combined are less than Nigeria and therefore it is almost impossible to think that ECOMOG can deploy a peacekeeping operation in a country like Nigeria Effect (Adebajo 2019).

9. Effectiveness or otherwise of ECOMOG in Conflict management during its Various Operations in the West African Region

ECOMOG, its glaring deficiencies notwithstanding, is an important example of the emerging modes of regionally based peacekeeping. Yet, the ECOMOG operations also demonstrate the difficulties and pitfalls of such regional peacekeeping. In a geopolitically fissured region like West Africa, regionalism proved to be a problematic vehicle for intervention. While regional self-interest forced ECOWAS to stay in the operation, factional frictions within the organisation (exploited in turn by the warlords), forced a prolongation of the conflict. On the other hand, many of the challenges faced by ECOWAS/ECOMOG were also inherent in the very

nature of post-Cold War conflicts and peacekeeping (Haas, 2011). The deep-seated causes of these conflicts, and the lack of overwhelming military advantage on the part of governments and intervention forces, make for protracted violence, and call for political commitment as well as open-endedness in the intervention agenda (in the ECOMOG case, the peacekeepers went in expecting the intervention to last between six and twelve months, and ended up with an involvement that lasted eight years) (Haas, 2011).

These challenges are likely to be exacerbated in the context of weak regional states and collectivities, as ECOWAS demonstrates. The ECOMOG operation occurred at a difficult moment for the states in the region. Firstly, the members of the regional organisation were themselves involved in complex political transitions, with most of their regimes under considerable challenge from their own civil societies. Secondly, the war generated huge resource demands — economic, military, political and diplomatic — that these states were ill-equipped to fulfill, and which the international community was disinclined to deliver. Thirdly, the structural and political crises that sustained these rebellions — economic stress, state decay and delegitimisation, the dislocation of youth — were present among other states in the region. There was thus a real danger that the conflict would spread beyond the borders of Liberia and Sierra Leone (Hettne, Bjorn and Fredrik, 2016).

The major dilemma of weak states is that they are vulnerable to such regional disturbances, but have limited power to stop or suppress them. Ironically, it was arguably this very sense of their own vulnerability and of the possibility of a 'domino effect' within the region, that furnished ECOWAS with the political will to remain engaged in the Liberian issue. Despite the often discouraging prospects, the ECOMOG operation was ultimately successful for several reasons. The first was the sheer political will and tenacity of ECOWAS. The organisation did not have the option of cutting and running, for reasons that were as much self-interested as humanitarian (Hettne, Bjorn and Fredrik, 2016).

The second was the ability to combine three phases of Conflict management: peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace enforcement, thereby changing mandates of forces in the field as developments on the ground required (a flexibility due, ironically, to the autonomy enjoyed by the military command and as a result of the weak control exercised by the ECOWAS directorate). In addition, the subregional, regional, and international initiatives

each brought different strengths and weaknesses to the peace process.

One of the more notable achievements of ECOMOG, in the long term, is its success in pushing the region from argument to consensus and from division to unity on matters of regional security. Prior to the Liberian crisis, as well as throughout the early stages of the intervention, ECOWAS members displayed little commitment to the ideals of regional security embodied in the 1981 treaty. This cynical disregard was apparent, on the one side, in the way in which certain Francophone states connived in the attack on Liberia and deliberately frustrated peace initiatives and, on the other side, in the way in which the intervening states (Nigeria in particular) acted unilaterally and resisted control by the regional political directorate. And as has been shown, the operation was bedevilled by linguistic and geopolitical rivalries, and undermined by questions about its legitimacy and format. Following the 'resolution' of the Liberian crisis, two crises have revived and extended these disputes in particular (Zartman, 2011).

The first is the 25 May 1997 *coup* that overthrew the newly installed democratic civilian government in Sierra Leone. The Nigerians responded to the *coup* with a naval bombardment of Freetown, followed by an invasion a year later to dislodge the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) *coup*-makers by force. While the earlier ECOMOG intervention into Sierra Leone had generated little controversy, largely because of the (mistaken) assumption that the RUF was merely a creature of the Liberian NPFL, these later events evoked very different responses. Those opposed to the second ECOMOG intervention in Sierra Leone pointed to the 'material' differences between Liberia and Sierra Leone: in the latter case, the civil war had ended, and a government had been elected into power. This made the event of 25 May an internal affair outside the competence of the 1981 Agreement. The intervention also raised fears once more of Nigerian unilateralism. However, there was unanimity within the ranks of ECOWAS, the OAU and the international community that the *coup* was intolerable and could not be allowed to stand. This rationalisation, missing in the 1981 treaty, suggests an expanding horizon of what constitutes 'regional security' and of the acceptable justifications for intervention. The second event is the civil war in Guinea-Bissau, which began as a military rebellion following an attempt by President Nino Vieira to remove his armed chief, General Asunmane Mane, on charges of trading arms with Casamance rebels across the border in Senegal. Forces from Senegal

and Guinea intervened to support Vieira's government, but unlike Liberia and Sierra Leone, ECOMOG forces were not committed (Kaufman, 1996:136-175).

One explanation was that the Anglophone countries in ECOMOG were anxious to pay back Senegal and the Francophone countries for their earlier lack of support to ECOMOG. It should be noted, however, that the mediation effort in Guinea-Bissau, by contrast, was not conducted exclusively by ECOWAS, but co-ordinated with the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP), which included Portugal, and there was some ill-disguised rivalry with ECOWAS.

These 'post-Liberia' developments have revived several issues. For example, what are the parameters for intervention (in other words, which conflicts in the region qualify for intervention and which not)? Who initiates intervention? Should intervention be unilateral, bilateral, or multilateral? With reference to Guinea-Bissau, how is 'region' to be defined? Is the criterion territorial, or linguistic? Another source of debate is how the mutual security mechanism is to be defined. It is noteworthy that the L'ANAD structure has continued to exist alongside the ECOWAS mutual defence arrangement (Khobe, 2010).

In December 1997, the Fourth Extraordinary Summit of the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government held in Lomé directly confronted these issues, approving the establishment of a regional mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution, and regional security. Following this, a meeting of experts in Banjul in July 1998 drafted a set of proposals for such a Mechanism for the approval of the ECOWAS Heads of State meeting in Ouagadougou in October. These proposals recognised that "... *though the organization [ECOWAS] was established for the primary purpose of economic integration of the region, economic development can only be effectively pursued in a secure and stable environment*", thus getting around the 'constitutional' issue that had earlier generated such heat.

The mechanism consisted of an elaborate set of structures, with a Mediation and Security Council of nine member states at the apex, elected from among the sixteen members of the organisation, and responsible for taking decisions on issues of regional peace and security on behalf of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State (Laursen, 2018). The military force would continue to be called ECOMOG. ECOMOG would be deployed in accordance with the terms of the 1981 treaty (see

above). But there was also a significant new twist. While the provisions for intervention would not extend to "... internal situations that are sustained and maintained from within", it would apply to those situations in which an internally-driven conflict:

- Threatened to trigger a humanitarian disaster;
- Posed a serious threat to peace and security in the subregion; or
- Erupted "... following the overthrow or attempted overthrow of a democratically-elected government."

These prescriptions are the result of a growing consensus within the region and between the various factions in ECOWAS that conflict is self-defeating. As a result, states in the region were able to demonstrate considerable flexibility, redefining their positions in order to promote consensus regarding the nature of regional security mechanisms. For the region, the conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone have been a traumatic experience, conferring both a sense of its vulnerability as well as its 'regionness'. After years of myopic focus on national sovereignty and security, West African states now see the connection between domestic anarchy and regional political instability much more clearly. States are ready to concede that 'my neighbour's business is my business' and, correspondingly, accepting the necessity of acting collaboratively within a regional framework to tackle these problems rather than attempting to seek favoured status and arrangements with external powers (Luttwak, 2016).

Notwithstanding this consensus, which helped to facilitate an end to the Liberian crisis, the ECOMOG experience teaches the important lesson that one should not conflate regional security and human security. The sharp polarisation that greeted Abacha's sudden death in June — with those who remembered him primarily for his contributions to regional peacekeeping (such as the OAU Secretary General and President Kabbah of Sierra Leone) celebrating him as a 'great statesman', while those (including the majority of Nigerians) who recalled his brutal repression of human rights and democracy at home rejoicing publicly — demonstrated the tension in the region between these two forms of security. The authoritarian structures prevalent in the region facilitated external intervention to support regional security but, at the same time, undermined human security on the domestic front. There have been further indications that, while regional political stability is a necessary condition for human security, it is far from sufficient.

The settlements that brought 'peace' to Liberia and Sierra Leone did not forcefully seek to address the domestic issues (of governance, economic justice and exclusion, etc.) at the root of regional conflagration. The end of hostilities in Liberia, capped by 'successful' elections, has not prevented the reappearance, under Taylor's government, of many of the same abuses which provoked the war in the first place. In many respects, the post-civil war government in Liberia has assumed the predatory hues common to the region's governments. After its prodigious sacrifices to ensure peace, ECOWAS has shown much less inclination or ability to impose acceptable standards of governance on the region. Without this, the 'regional security' mechanism is liable to degenerate into a protection racket for autocrats (Beer, 1970).

10. Conclusion and Recommendations

The emergence of ECOWAS as a regional force indicates that security communities in Africa cannot be fully explained by the traditional paradigms of international institutional politics. Unlike the African Union, the emergence of ECOWAS as a security community is better analyzed under the Collective Security theory of the UN. ECOWAS proved the possibility of the emergence of a security community from real politick. This paper set out and appraised the ECOWAS traditional peacekeeping operations in the West African region with the view to determine how effective they have been as a Conflict management tool in Africa. This is based on the role played by the ECOWAS which is charged with the responsibility for the maintenance and sustenance of peace and security in Africa.

In conclusion, peace agreements are fundamental to the management and resolution of conflicts because they provide the essence of resolutions of the UN Security Council and the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council, and thus the legal basis for peacekeeping and peace enforcement. However, the assumption that leaders of armed factions are rational political actors driven by legitimate grievances and that they will therefore commit themselves to brokered agreements is fallacious. The dangling of carrots (the confidence-building approach) must therefore be accompanied by the wielding of a sizeable stick (robust diplomacy backed by a credible enforcement capacity) for peace implementation to succeed in the West African region.

The reasons for the inefficient response could be attributed to several factors. These include; the overburdening of the ECOWAS, financial handicap

by the ECOWAS, UN and AU, delay of intervention, lack of proper mandate and poor logistics. Others include legality of peacekeeping/peace enforcement, use of weak and inexperienced forces and the attitude of western countries. The challenges of peacekeeping in Africa which has to be addressed to ensure success of PKO in Africa were also noted. These include securing comprehensive political settlement, securing and sustaining consent, and understanding the sensitivity of the people. Others are rapid deployment capability, legality for peacekeeping/peace enforcement and use of weak and inexperienced forces. The apparent loss of interest in Africa by the super powers as Africa has lost her strategic importance since the end of the cold war cannot be ignored.

Nevertheless, much can be done to improve peace-making processes in the region as recommended below:

Awareness creation on peace agreements: Concrete efforts should be made by ECOWAS, NGOs and prominent personalities involved in peace-making to educate parties to conflict on the essence of peace agreements. Signed agreements imply the willingness to show consent, commitment and responsibility to the peace-making process which are necessary and essential factors for eliciting compliance. An assumption of these factors only undermines agreements signed.

Avoid rewarding violence: Peace agreements should seek to resolve underlying (that is both immediate and root) causes of conflict without legitimizing insurgencies, encouraging complicity and condoning violence through granting amnesty and rewards to ex-combatants. Such acts negate the zero tolerance for unconstitutional changes under the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and good governance.

Develop professional security forces: Non-state armed groups have challenged and undermined the capacity of states to defend and protect their citizens, and to generally maintain stability, law and order within their territories. Some ECOWAS member states, through bad governance practices, have also created conditions for instability. Human security of citizens and the sovereignty of states are thus threatened, creating avenues for non-compliance by both state and non-state actors with peace agreements. This happens in the face of a lack of credible peace enforcement options, as evident during the pre-Mechanism ECOWAS peace-making processes. A simultaneous process of security sector reform, both at national and regional levels focusing on appropriate oversight functions, the building of

capacity and equipping the security agencies will help address such security threats. In addition, member states must increase their defence budget expenditures to adequately resource the security sector towards providing credible security, rather than holding on to minimalist-state principles and concepts to the detriment of peace and security. Also, in line with its coercive diplomacy efforts, ECOWAS should ensure that a well-resourced, robust and credible ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF) could launch and sustain enforcement operations as an option of last resort.

Provide expert training for mediators: As part of measures to complement its coercive diplomacy efforts, training especially for ECOWAS Council of Elders and recognised ECOWAS mediators on effective negotiations and mediation before, during and after the eruption of conflicts would be timely. The United Kingdom (DfID) has allocated funding for a project to be undertaken in close consultation with the Executive Secretary and other senior staff of ECOWAS. It is envisaged that this project may include assistance to the Executive Secretariat to develop a mediation and negotiation unit as a component of the Executive Secretary's Cabinet. In addition, consideration will be given to developing a high-level mediation-training package for nominated senior West African politicians, diplomats and military commanders, the ECOWAS Council of Elders, and ECOWAS parliamentarians.

Adopt realistic frameworks and implementation schedules: The adoption and gradual implementation of the Mechanism has indeed enhanced peace-making processes in West Africa. Hitherto, intervention in conflict situations and the peace-making process was ad hoc and not clearly defined. The establishment of the Mechanism has, however, delineated when to intervene in a conflict and procedures to follow in conflict prevention, management and resolution. This notwithstanding, the ECOWAS conflict Mechanism is still in its infant stages, and yet to be fully operationalised. This factor should be considered in brokering over-ambitious framework-substantive and unrealistic implementation agreements in the peace-making process.

Expose those who foment insurgencies: Finally, peer review by states or a shadow review by civil society should be intensified, especially in the area of peace and security since this will play an effective role in naming and shaming states promoting or sponsoring insurgencies against other states. Efforts in this direction will enhance conflict prevention in the region.

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Sustainability of Sculpture and Monument in the Built Environment

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Abstract. Sculptural monument has been described as an exhibition of works of the visual arts or practices not displayed in galleries and museums but featured or performed in streets, city squares or public spaces and accessible to the public. therefore, this paper documents the sustainability of sculpture/monument in the built environment an illustrated step-by-step approach in the designing, Sculptural monuments are three-dimensional visual art forms that are executed through varying techniques and materials as memorial or funerary monuments, the materials for representation are usually solid in form in view of the purpose and the period they are to serve. It was observed that good management of any public utility would not only ensure its accessibility to the teaming public, but its sustainability will further ensure the longevity This study reveals that public sculpture has played significant role of beautifying the built environment, it also provides the social function of education, information and enhancing social order by preserving the cultural history of the people the past and at contemporary times in societies

Keywords: Sculptural Monument, execution, cultural values, aesthetics and Environment.

1. Introduction

Sculpture also regarded as plastic art is a branch of the visual arts it consists of Painting, Graphics, Photography, Textiles, Ceramics and Crafts among others. Sculpture like architecture and crafts are arts usually executed in three dimensional forms as against the two dimensionalities of photography, graphic, painting/mural and textile designs. Sculpture is usually derived from a variety of materials such as clay, wood, stone, metal, bronze and other contemporary materials like mortar, fiber, marble, metal assemblages, mixed media as well as installation art. Sculpture can be executed in the

round, bas or high relief forms and using contemporary techniques.

Furthermore, sculpture's mode of execution could be carving, modeling or casting, while carving is worked in subtractive technique; modeling may be in either subtractive or additive methods. The process, techniques or materials of sculpture are significant in determining its size; this is also important in the maintenance and sustainability of the sculptural works which are expected to be durable lasting generations. For example, many of the erected Egyptian sculpture executed centuries back are still standing till date. Giving its monumental status and depending largely on the material and purpose, sculptures are usually sited in the public and in open spaces within the built environment, and as such are regarded as "public art".

Public art has been described as an exhibition of works of the visual arts or practices not displayed in galleries and museums but featured or performed in streets, city squares or public spaces and accessible to the public (Miles 1997, Amin 2008). It follows therefore, that public arts include but not limited to outdoor sculptures, architecture, billboards, mural paintings, posters, signage, photography and other forms of advertising pictorials among others. Public art are creations of artists, it may also have evolved from communal efforts and expressed in variety of materials and methods either as permanent or temporary public installations (Chang 2009)

It then holds that, art affirms, confirms and interfaces with other physical visual elements in the built environment to complement the socio-cultural and politico-economic realities of the people from where it was sourced; Art is also expected to enhance alignment with the bionetwork in order to project the aesthetics of the built environment (Beyes 2010). All sculptures in public places though may suffice as

public art; but all public art may not be sculpture as there are other forms of arts displayed in the public. This is because the contemporary term “public art” has been broadened to accommodate new media such as architecture, murals, stained glass, ceramics, mosaic, tapestry, paintings assemblages and all forms of installations or participatory performances as well as static and digital billboards among others (Childs 2010; Gressel 2012; Mader 2019).

The significant intent of public outdoor sculpture therefore is for it to be concisely and appropriately located. The ideal siting of the sculpture, it is believed, will further enhance its socio-cultural and politico-economic relevance to the environment for which they are produced such that it projects and remains a pride creation of the public, by the public and for the public; a case of collective ownership. The appropriate siting of sculpture in the public space such as roundabouts, civic centres or public buildings is expected therefore to boost collective ownership which will transform into the pride of the people. Popular and historically relevant sculpture tends to change the urban interface by opening the environment up for different socio-economic opportunities, harmonious organization and beautification; the creative organization of public arts can take any form of visual culture (Rees 1976, Cosgrove 1985, Beyes 2010). The above example better fits (Plates 1a & b): Madam Efunsetan Tinubu and the Fountain View of Tinubu Square, a popular site with lockup shops and bus-stop to provide and boost socio-economic opportunities in Lagos Island.

Other example may include memorial statues and monuments of local or national heroes, for examples (Plate 2: Prince Moremi Ajasoro; Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Saaunan of Sokoto, Usman Danfodio and Chief Nnamdi Azikiwe, Plate 3) and religious or architectural sculpture and installations that may be permanently or temporarily erected. They may also include street or garden furniture, sculptural signage among others. A sculpture can come in any size, from miniature to super-structure of above life-sizes. There is also no limit to the subject-matter which could be personages, abstract or event forms. Size is significant with monumental sculpture; its monumentality has to do with the material as well as the place where it will be sited. The conspicuous form of a sculpture is often with the intent that it will be sited in space, where size become significant; in order to draw people’s attention. The above elements in conjunction with entrenched aesthetic attributes merge to project its socio-cultural relevance wherever it is located.

Sculpture is the core focus of this study; it also qualifies as public art; since public art covers all arts sited in public spaces and accessible to the public. Specifically, therefore, this study examines the concept and meaning of sculpture, it delved briefly into the history of monuments in Nigeria; it also looked at the significance of sculpture and the need for their sustainability and how it can be achieved.

2. Sculptural Monument, Concept and Meaning

Sculptural monuments are three-dimensional visual art forms that are executed through varying techniques and materials as memorial or funerary monuments, statues of heroes. They could also be head or tombstone made in tribute of the dead for his or heroic achievement. A public outdoor sculpture could be monumental in form. Its gigantic nature is enmeshed in the materials, technique and the purpose for which it is meant; the materials for representation are usually solid in form in view of the purpose and the period they are to serve. For instance, the sculptural images of Pharaohs in Egypt and Roman Caesars are good examples of monumental work still standing today in view of the solidity of their materials and its sustainability. Sculpture as an art form could be representation of iconic subjects or events of victories in war or the independence of a nation-state; it could also express and communicate socio-cultural and aesthetic thought that evokes response through tangible forms.

The sculptural expressions in turn relay harmonious rhythm that unites in fascinating symmetrical or asymmetrical aesthetic balances that appeal to the eyes and emotions (Cosgrove, 1985; Beyes, 2010). As works meant for public spaces like city squares, roundabout, roadsides, hospitals, civic centres, stadium, and amusement parks, among others, it does require some form of conspicuousness if their presence would be significant. While two-dimensional works in mural painting and photography which represent an illusion of three-dimensional space on a two-dimensional surface may be significant in small form and colour, architecture, crafts and sculptures intended for public space needs to be conspicuous within urban design.

Therefore, large framed sculpture tends to have lasting impact on people. Sculpture really inhabits space often shared by people as they appreciate its tactile texture. A good example is Plate 1a: Madam Efunroye Tinubu with adequate space to move around, to form an interrelated whole with the built environment (Slergerb 1991). As observed by

Jackson (1991), the major goal of designing a city is to achieve socio-economic efficiency and to attain a healthy ecological balance within the city. The works though serving different purposes are categorized as public arts. For any work of art to be significant in space, it ought to be monumental, while smaller works may attract the closeness to be appreciated, bigger works would gain far enriching appeal when viewed from afar. Therefore, the gigantic form of a sculpture will largely capture and draw people's attention with some recognizable significant features. This probably informs the tendencies for exaggerating or massive works of above life sizes intended not only to induce appeal but also ensure its longevity.

In concept and expression, memorial sculpture resolves around the thought pattern of the artist as the creator. Such sculptures are often in commemoration of the dead in recognition of their invaluable contributions to the development of the society in diverse field of endeavours such as the economy, politics, religion and security among others. The remembrance of the dead by the living for their impactful contribution while alive, it is believed may stir up the desire by those yet living, if they know they would be immortalized at their demise. This to a large extent would engender order and transmit good moral behaviour that would elicit patriotism, justice and equity in the society. The desires for the endowed in the society to impacting the less privileged will further induce social order and tranquil harmony among the people. Therefore, the art of memorial sculpture provides a social function of social order, in the pre-literate African cultures regulation; communication and commendation are made in religious practices using arts (Folarin, 2004).

Examples abound across the globe of historic sculptures. For instance, the legendary Egyptian Pharaohs, the iconic Caesars of the Romans and in contemporary times, the Statue of Freedom in Washington D.C. and others across the globe. These and many more historic and laudable examples of commissioned sculptures are executed to commemorate exemplary military victories, iconic feats as well as to celebrate the institutions of democracy. Back in Nigeria, are four white monumental horses suspended above the Tafawa Balewa Square (TBS) (formally the independent square, Lagos) gate and seven red eagles. There are heraldic objects from the nation's Coats of Arm which symbolizes strength and dignity (Akande, 2015).

Also, at the Tinubu Square, Lagos is the fiberglass statue of Madam Efunroye Tinubu (Plate 1a) whose full name is Efunroye Osuntinubu Olumosa (1810-1887), the Square was named after. Madam Tinubu's statue is a magnificent monument erected in her honour as a violent, valiant and powerful Yoruba warrior. It has been reported that of all the tourist sites in Lagos State, Tinubu Square has the record of being the most visited. This may be unconnected with its location which is at the epee-centre of Lagos Central Business District (CBD). The cenotaph was originally commissioned and dedicated by the then Governor of Lagos, Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu's administration (1999-2007). The statue was erected in recognition of Madam Tinubu's heroism and sacrifices for the common good, and inspires the womenfolk (Akitoye, 1987).

Another historic female figure whose statue was erected in the city of Ibadan is Chief Efunsetan Aniwura (1790-1874) Plate 6. She was the second Iyalode of Ibadan land, Efunsetan was revered to a successful merchant and trader whose impact covered the political, economic, military and religious sphere of Ibadan. It was argued that her fame placed her as one of the richest Yoruba woman of her time (Hartle 2011). The significant role that Moremi Ajasoro (Plate 2) also played in the history of Ile-Ife won her iconic recognition. A Princess of Ile-Ife, and a prominent figure that lived in the twelve century. She was reputed to have led Ile-Ife in a major war that got her victory over the enemy's kingdom. Her significance led to three of her statues been erected in Ile-Ife alone and a female hall in Obafemi Awolowo University where one of the statues is sited is named after her (Umeh, 2016).

Located at Alok in Ikom area of former Cross River (now Akwa Ibom) State are about three hundred monoliths (Plate 10) of between 0.3 and 1.8 metres (1 and 6 feet) high laid out in circles. The monoliths which are phallic form had some stylized features of faces with decorative inscribed line patterns and inscriptions believed to be a form of writing and visual communication (Hartle, 2011; UNESCO, 2011). The statue was in built in memorial of the Late Chief Ganiyu Oyesola Fawehinmi (SAM, SAN) Plate 4, (1938-2009). He was a fearless legendary legal-luminary and human right activist per excellence, who revolutionized the law reportage and dedicated and dedicated his entire life to freedom fighting and enthronement of true democracy in Nigeria.

3. The Significance of Public Outdoor Sculpture

Sculptures sited in public places are significant in many ways, their importance are borne out of the diverse purposes they serve; some of which include commemorative, historical and aesthetic. Some sculptures share historical relevance with the location where they are cited. For instance, the Ikon monoliths which are naturally erupted volcano with human facial inscriptions UNESCO. The *Statute of Liberty* of the Americans in Washington D.C. Land (2012) has observed that every visit to a public art is a tour for and encounter to culturally inform and enrich both the visitor and indigene. Therefore, public art relays a culturally rich and enduring narratives of shared history of contemplative engagement of the community where it is located (Hartle, 2011).

Sculptures that commemorate local and national heroes often connect the tourists with the socio-cultural and political history of the host community. These works of art often share some socio-cultural and historical significance; it also beautifies the environment where they are located, these in turn attract tourists with attendant economic benefits. In the views of Ademuleya, Adeyanju and Ijisakin (2015), public art educates the public to understand the history of a place, its past, the environment and cultural relevance and people who visit and use the site. Sculptural monuments contribute immensely to the beautification of the built environment. Public art, especially outdoor sculptures which is the focus of this study are vast developing in the south western Nigeria when compared with other geographical regions, but its sustainability has been poor.

It has been observed that of all the tourist sites in Lagos State, Tinubu Square is one of the most visited. The cenotaph is located on a 2000 square meter land said to have been donated to the British by Madam Tinubu. The site first accommodated the Court at the CBD of Assizes which was demolished for the construction of tourist water fountain was donated by the Lebanese Community in Nigeria in commemoration of the nation's independence. Recently, the Lagos Government under Mr. Akinwumi Ambode embarked on the restoration and renovation of the statue, the square and the fountain which has improved the lightening and security on a 24-hours service.

This significant improvement of the Square has tremendously attracted more tourists which in turn busted the economic status of shop owners. This continuing success has been made possible through commissioning of an independent firm, Kenny Adanson International to manage and maintain the Square and its facilities. The above achievement was

in fulfillment Governor Ambode's administration to use art, culture, entertainment and hospitality to project and promote Lagos State as the hub of creative art and tourism in Africa (Akitoye 2013).

It has been established that sculptural monument in Nigeria are erected in response to specific needs of commemorate, historical or aesthetic purpose or both. What is significant however is the assurance of their safety, security, accessibility, visibility and durability opined Sheffery, (2007). Wherever embraced, sculpture in public places has been observed to have some socio-cultural relevance with site possibly of which it is located thereby giving it some health and aesthetic connection with the built environment. Its presence, where beautifully located tends to enliven and refreshes the lifeless and dull urban spaces where they are sited, thus significantly showcasing the socio-cultural elements of the city's beautiful landscape.

In general term, monuments go beyond sculptural outfits alone, it could be historic edifices whether natural feature or man-made which can be identified with as symbol or object of milestone achievement. Nigeria however richly endured with both historical and culturally rich iconic monumental landmarks which one considered to have existed over 500 years (Ki-Zerbo, 1998). One of such monuments is 'Kofar Sobuwar,' one of the Kano City walls; built between 1905-1134 as a defense wall. The City Wall, 50 feet high is a UNESCO world Heritage Site. Historically sculptures made with weather resisted materials survived to tell what Wangboje referred to as the story of Africa's early civilization (Wangboje, 1976). Unlike painting, that traditionally present an illusion of three dimension on a two dimensional surface, sculpture inhibits the space shared by the viewer with the advantage of tactile feel of its surface.

These works were exhumed and remained finds by archaeologist to be housed in Museums across the country while others like the *Opa Oranmiyan* (a replica) mounted in Ile-Ife remained the prowess of the African people in sculpting. The statue of Moremi Ajasoro (Plate 2), represents an iconic and legendary figure among the people of Ile-Ife and indeed the Yorubaland. Moremi was a Princess and an important Yoruba figure; she lived in the twelfth century and was reputed to have led Ile-Ife to major victory over fierce enemy kingdom. All of these works has unique historical significance; one of such historic statue is *Oduduwa* (Plate 5) statue located at Mayfair Roundabout, Ile-Ife, the cradle of Yorubaland. The significance of *Oduduwa* lies in the history and religion of the town, the Yoruba and the Yoruba

across the world. It also has socio-economic significance on tourism in Ile-Ife, and the inherent aesthetic ideals in the statue where people from across the globe travel to as tourists to appreciate.

The Yoruba of Southwestern Nigerian are lovers of arts, they are generally considered to have contributed significantly to the development of art in Africa. Prior our contact with the Whites, the arts of the African people were domicile with things in the palaces and shrines where they performed sacred functions and served as palace decorations in Southwestern Nigeria (Ademuleya, Adeyanju & Ijisakin, 2005). These diverse artistic languages then became public heritage housed in museums with establishments of colonial government, while others were mounted in the public. Considerably, sculptures in the kings places were made to complement the architecture and shrines which restricted to palace visitors. Most of the works were created to commemorate the virtues of the kings and heroes in the community.

From the pre-independence era to the post-independence, this enhanced the creation of regions and states ultimately lead to the growth of city-centres. These capitals grew to become the economic nerves of the state with major industries that attracted people, workers and buyers. Its importance is also pivotal on socio-economic factor of tourism in the town, and the attendant aesthetic values in the sculpture (Ijisakin 2014). This resulted in steady growth of other businesses. With expensive infrastructures, and more people and the impending need for public art which significantly complements the built environment. This perhaps could have inspired urban planners and the built environment professionals of the need to pay significant attention on the aesthetic beautification of the environment. Some of these environments design professionals have been identified by Zhou (2014) to include artists, architects, geographers, urban planners, sociologists, cultural and religious historians and archeologists. The working together of these specialists would inspire harmonious relationships of man nature and the ecosystem.

Therefore, these professionals should regularly work in tandem with others in order to allow the rhythmic harmony of all the natural and man-made elements in a healthy and aesthetic manner. These elements include among other roads, railway lines and terminals, buildups, signposts and billboards, street lightening and drainage channelization. These must however be done with considerate knowledge and realization for the integration of the existing social-

cultural, and political-economic essence for sustainable co-existence and development. This should be done in a manner that allows for projects enhancement the beautification and well being of the people (Pollock and Sharp, 2012; Zhou, 2014).

4. The Challenges of Public Outdoor Sculptures

The revered importance of public outdoor sculpture as the projection of societal cultural values, and enhancement the aesthetics of the built environment are not in doubt. The contending issues of abuse, vandalism and neglect have been recurring. Scholars who have written on the unpleasant states of public outdoor sculpture include among others Odiboh (1987), Adelowo (1999), Oladugbagbe (2005), Akintonde (2008a) and Akintonde, (2013) have made considerable submissions on the diverse problems of outdoor sculpture in the southwest. The beautiful execution and ideal mounting of public outdoor sculpture has been observed not to be complete without the acceptance by the public as well as good plan for its maintenance. Public response to such works may include outrage, delight, misinterpretation, ignorance, pride which may be borne out of political, religious or cultural bias (Crush, 2014). The above may engender reactions may embrace or mar the works leading therefore to abusive or destruction.

There are however different viewpoints to the abuse and vandalism public outdoor sculpture. Scholarship have revealed that in developing countries including Nigeria issues of poor quality of works, poor maintenance and abuse are prevalent (Akintonde and Rom Kalilu 2013; Akintonde and Oladugbagbe (2015). Varying degrees of abuse where identified ranging from defacement, tying of banner and pasting of posters on works, as well as indiscriminate blockage of the views through signpost erecting among others. Aremu, Ijisakin, Bello and Aremu, (2015) also identify neglect by the supposed bodies that were saddled with the responsibility of management and maintenance as a form of abuse. In their views, lack of maintenance will put outdoor sculpture in poor state whether due to the age of the work, the substandard use of materials and poor location may combine to endanger the work.

No creation of man has the tendencies to last for life, as such; the adverse influence of weather is also significant in defacing and destroying outdoor sculptures. The effect of environmental conditions on outdoor sculpture is devastating; irrespective of the choice of durable materials for such work, environmental impact is a key component for

consideration hence the need for deliberate and structured management and maintenance opined (Houghton *et. al.* 1996 and Marold, 2009). Similarly, natural extruded Ikom monoliths are subject to degeneration, its continuous exposure to weather conditions puts the works to risk of erosion and disintegration which has revealed the need for adequate management and maintenance in order to sustain its continuous existence (UNESCO, 2014).

5. Management and Sustainability of Public Outdoor Sculptures in Nigeria

Good management of any public utility would not only ensure its accessibility to the teaming public, but its sustainability will further ensure the longevity. This is generally true of public outdoor sculpture on whose tax payers' money has been expended to put up. Therefore, proper management is perceived to ensure that art administrators are saddled with the task of the care of public art. Should public outdoor sculpture fulfill the role of providing positive impact on communities by attracting economic growth through tourism, sustainability of cultural identity, understanding and social harmony. It then becomes necessary to have a body to be saddled with structured plan for the management and maintenance public outdoor sculpture.

Their responsibility will be to ensure the management and maintenance public outdoor sculpture in order to guarantee its sustainability. This main objective ensures the primal fulfillment of art aesthetic pleasantry, memorializing functions and civic education to the public (Akintonde, 2008b; Akintonde and Kalilu, and Akintonde, 2013).

It should be noted that the guideline for the control of public outdoor sculpture does not begin with the execution and mounting of such works in public space, rather from the point of its commissioning, governments at all levels in Nigeria are guilty in this regards. Akintonde (2013) has argued the lack of adequate planning for appropriate site selection for the erection of outdoor sculptures; before commissioning of such sculptures. He opined that patrons arbitrarily choose sites based on political gains without recourse to the law. The quality of materials, execution and the choice of appropriate site where it will be located, significantly determines community acceptance, response and the proper care needed for such work to be sustained (Miles, 1997 and Crush, 2012).

In Crush's view, the location of such work should accommodate and align with the historic appropriateness of the site and as such serve as the pride of the community. Should the community be ignorant of the relevance the art, such may lead to neglect that may result in abuse or vandalism. The community must not only be involved in the choice of what is to be installed in their community, they should also be grounded in its history. Miles (1997) observed the inappropriate siting of prominent works at busy roads and argued for more art in parks, squares and public spaces where people can pay adequate attention in appreciating such works. Senie (2014) agrees that when a public sculpture is placed in a poor location, the fund expended is wasted and the work abandoned; ultimately defeating the good intention of providing innovative and aesthetic interactions among the people.

Some key components of sustainability of public outdoor sculpture have been identified to include assessment, maintenance and treatment Mcnally and Hsu (2012). The study argued that the sustenance and management of public sculpture will thrive where there is strong and deliberate desire on the part of the government at all level for organization, control and freedom intersect; thus resulting in effective management which are the determinants for the survival of public outdoor sculpture.

Other studies on the maintenance, management, and sustainability of public sculpture acknowledged the important on effective management in the sustenance of public art. Marold (2009), Koscielyn (2007), Monique (2013), Heder (2013) and Whyte (2016) among others, agree on the need for collaborative effort in the management of public with the community as significant stakeholders. Suwaidi *et. al.* (2017) argued that community residents are stakeholder in the care for public art, but the residents must collaborate in this endeavour for positive result. Whyte (2016) suggests the need for a body constituted and assigned the responsibility for the care of public art, noting that greater percent of the success of public sustainability of public art is in its management, emphasizing the importance of space in maintenance and sustainability of public art; as spaces often allow for public activities and interactions in the example of Tinubu Square (Plate 1b). Hence, the need to plan and site public art in clean and well secure space.

Pullen and Heuman (2007) identified the care for art works after installation as a major factor in

sustenance of public art. Noting that effects of climate and weather as well as human activities informs the need for effective maintenance. Mossholder (2007), Aremu, Ijisakin, Bello and Aremu, (2015), Koscielyn (2007) argued that public art would deteriorate arising from neglect and poor maintenance. They argued that even the best of sculpture materials deteriorate faster outdoor more so when traditional and contemporary materials used are exposed to weather, pollution, and neglect, they deteriorate, hence, the need for regular maintenance.

The reflections of human attitudes arising from the day to day interactions with public works of art which may be for care, abuse or vandalism can be far reaching and remain significant issues of great concern needing effective control and management. Waentig (2012) defines preventive conservation as simply management which involves care, maintenance, monitoring, and risk management on outdoor public sculpture. The above submissions when imbibed it is believed would go a long way in redeeming the deteriorating states of most public art in southwestern Nigeria. Where her outdoor public sculpture would be sustained, relevant institutions to be empowered with up-to-date polices and finance should be created in order to allow for the positive execution of entrenched administrative and management strategies.

The increasing growth of cities and the need to beautify them inform the need for relevant policies and regulations for city planners to use as guide for enhancing orderly organization and management of public outdoor sculpture, indications reveal otherwise. The deteriorating state of most public outdoor sculpture in the nation shows lack of adequate attention for public art, as city administrators are greatly challenged at keeping with the pace of change without regulations. Ward-Jackson (2012) and Miles (1997) in their study on government attitudes to city decoration with public art identified the challenge of public art preservation strategies as finance. The suggested the establishment of a body at the national and local governments who will adapt routine structure for the maintenance and management of public art, in line with relevant legislations.

In developed countries where visual literacy is high public art is considered seemingly less essential, policy guidelines are often in place to guide the commissioning, management and maintenance of public art. This is however not true of Nigeria, who

lacked policies on the use and development of public art except for some encouraging measures been recently put in place in some parts of Western Region of which Lagos and Ile-Ife are significant. In these states, a conscious effort is being put in place through a public partnership arrangement for the maintenance and management of public art in order to enhance its sustainability. In Nigeria, there are two seeming bodies saddled with the administration of art as established by the Act of National Assembly, they are: National Council for Arts and Culture (NCAC) and National Gallery of Art (NGA).

The NCAC established in 1975 was responsible to assist the Federal Government in the planning, coordination and management of arts and cultures nationwide, these include: promotion and development of Nigerian arts and culture as well as to assist the National Commission for Museums and Monument in the creation, acquisition, preservation of artistic works and cultural monuments. It also had under its purview the task to organize, promote, exhibit and develop the visual, performing and literary art, music, traditional dance, drama, opera, cinema, films, photography, painting, sculpture, architecture, town planning and crafts. As can be seen NCAC seem over burdened with more responsibilities than it can cope with. Though, with offices in states nationwide, NCAC hardly has enough manpower and operational structure to perform as directives are only dished out by the Honourable Minister.

Cumbered with the myriads of responsibilities than it can handle, led to the establishment of NGA in 1993 (amended in 2004) with the task to serve as storehouse for artistic creations and promotion of research as well as the education and appreciation of works art and related matters. The gallery, in addition to acquiring and collecting Nigerian works of art also, organises exhibitions, sponsors and promote research into all aspects of arts; it also promotes excellence in the theory and practice of arts through awards of grants to artists and arts scholars. The two agencies are responsible to the Ministry in charge of Art and Culture under Honourable Minister. While both had the liberty to raise funds, they however rely on government funding to carrying out their constitutional duties.

This is however not the same in developed countries where public art is highly prized and considered an essential part of the cityscape with the task for their maintenance and preservation entrenched as clauses and policy statement. This is true of the Canada and the United State of America, with councils are

saddled with the responsibilities of overseeing Public Art affairs. To achieve sustainability of sculptures is the significant need for administering enshrined workable policies on the importance of public art. These codified regulations should be backed by the act of the National Assembly and adequately localized. The importance of public art which beach (1992) highlights to include expression of community values enhancement and transformation of the landscape where they are located, and the heightening awareness socio-cultural and historical assumptions of the people.

Ijisakin (2014) has correctly observed that, when adequately sited for public view, public art forms a collective community expression, a reflection of the worldview of the people. This is summed up in the artist's response to our time and place in conjunction with the people's identity. Scholars in public art have collectively identified the issued gross abuse, neglect and vandalism as common problems of public art in Nigeria (Adeyanju 2004; Oladugbagbe 2005, and Akintonde 2013). In addition to the above are issued of substandard, rejection and politically motivated removal and replacement of sculptures in Ibadan and Lagos.

Akintonde and Oladugbagbe (2015) observed some the Steps taken to project, carefully plan and monitored the management and maintenance of public outdoor sculpture in the United States of America as a committee system known as the Committee for the Restoration of the *Statue of Liberty* under the surveillance of the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation in collaboration with National Park Service (NPS). The committee hired the services of high level experts in various fields necessary for the restoration exercise which provided resounding success. Similarly, Hirzy (nd) opines in the statement below that:

the ultimate responsibility (of a good conservator) is to preserve a work of art an irreplaceable treasure which must be approached with utmost care, skill, and sensitivity. When conservator is usually sensitive to aesthetic and art historical concerns and knowledgeable about material and methods, the results bring new life to the sculpture.

The above task came bare in 2015 when attention was focused on the restoration of the deteriorated *Oduduwa* statue (Plate 8a) located at Ile-Ife. The eventual bid for the restoration may not be unconnected with the significance of the statue in the history and religion of the Yoruba people and of Ile-Ife as the source of the Yoruba in Nigeria and diaspora (Akintonde & Oladugbagbe, 2015). On

restoration of public outdoor sculpture Southwestern Nigeria, Akintonde and Oladugbagbe (2015), has observed that the first of such exercise was executed in 1997 on *Obokun* statue in Ilesa. This was eleven years after the original work was made.

The second of such exercise is *Oduduwa* (Plate 8a) which was commissioned in 1998 by the Department of Ife Affairs to a Lagos based sculptor in person of Abuede. Often, the execution and sometimes renovation works of these sculptures were commissioned to uninformed 'road-side-artists without theoretical knowhow in the concept of restoring the works (Akintonde & Oladugbagbe, 2015). Hence, the unhealthy states of most outdoor sculptures in the country. This is because the commissioning contracts do not always follow best practices. For instance, the original work doesn't last and renovation works may further jeopardize the quality of the work.

The renovation of *Oduduwa* (Plate 8a) was thereafter commissioned to Akintonde Moses PhD in 2015 and the aftermath of the professional handling of the work is there presented in (Plate 1b). The process according to him involved painstaking removal of accumulated colour payment which was unprofessionally used on it. The restoration work was then carefully made in order to bring the sculpture back to its former state was evident in (Plate 1b). The effort of the Lagos State government must be commended in this regard.

Today, Lagos State stands as the most beautified with iconic sculptures an effort which commenced during the tenure of Asiwaju Bola Hammed Tinubu. This was further corroborated by Mr. Bola Timi Fashola who restored degraded works and erected several others. The love for art by the erstwhile government of governor Tinubu should be commended for renovation of existing works and erection of new public outdoor sculpture that reflects the socio-cultural clue of Lagos State in Lagos State.

In the spirit of sustainability of public outdoor sculpture, the Lagos State Government took a giant step not only to redeem Madam Tinubu's stature but also on central Business districts Agboola Dabiri, the sole administrator, Lagos Island East Council Development Area, Abiola Are, and the Sole Administrator, Lagos Akinwumi Ambode also refrained that the government will continue to use artistic facilities such as Tinubu Square and others been constructed across the state to showcase the positive attractions and create a must-visit appetite for domestic and foreign tourists (Yemitan, 1987)

Akinwumi Ambode, The Governor called for the cooperation of the residents in protecting the site against vandalism and distortion of its historical and tourism value. It is the collective responsibility of all to preserve the rich cultural heritage in the state for present and future generations (Umeh, 2016).

6. Conclusion

This study reveals that public sculpture has played significant roles in the past and at contemporary times in societies across cultures and globally. Aside from playing aesthetic role of beautifying the built environment, it also provides the social function of education, information and the enhancement social order by preserving the cultural history of the people. All over the world, monuments are erected as a way of preserving human history and upholding societal

harmony and ethics. They are testaments of selfless leadership, colour and bravery of great men and women whose significant development advances the course of humanity. This monument however needs be sustained in other to sustain the people's history and the legacies of those who laboured to impacted the lives of the less privilege in the society.

Public sculpture has been successfully used to resonate meaningfully the cultural imperatives of the people; while it has also contributed to the better understanding and appreciation of public sculpture towards their promotion, management, and sustainability as a creative medium of artistic expression. It also further enhances the harmonious socio-cultural, physical, and aesthetic health of the built environment.



Figure 1a: Madame Efunroye Tinubu
Source: Abiodun Salu (2016)



Figure 1b: Aerial view of well-maintained New Tinubu Square, Lagos.
Source: Ayo Akinyemi, (2013)



Figure 2: Queen Moremi Ajasoro
Source: Author's Field Survey (2020)



Figure 3: Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Sadauna of Sokoto Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Chief Nnamdi Azikiwe
Source: Abiodun Salu, (2019)



Figure 4: Late Chief Ganiyu Oyesola Fawehinmi (SAM, SAN), (1938-2009)
Source: Abiodun Salu, (2019)



Figure 5: Ori Olokun
Source: Author's Field Survey, (2020)



Figure 6: Madam Efunsetan Aniwura
Source: www.takemetonaija.com (2016)



Figure 7: Three Idejo Chiefs Titled: Welcome to Lagos
Source: Author's Field Survey (2019)



Figure 8a: Oduduwa
Source: Author's Field Survey, (2020)



Figure 8b: Oduduwa: The Progenitor of the Yoruba Race
Source: Moses Akintonde (2020)



Figure 9: Ade Are
Source: Author's Field Survey (2020)



Figure 10: Ikon Monolith Source: Jeremy Weate (2010)



Figure11: various small communities which collectively formed the kingdom known as 'Igodomigodo' Source: Uzzi (2016)

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Policy of Agricultural Mechanization and Food Security in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospects

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Abstract. This paper examined agricultural mechanization as strategy for food security in Nigeria. The study adopted a descriptive method of analysis. Data for the study were obtained from secondary sources archival search. The main findings of the research are: There is a relationship between agricultural mechanization and food security in Nigeria. Effective agricultural mechanization facilitates heavy food production in Nigeria. Alleged lack of availability of agricultural mechanization is a threat to food security in Nigeria. Farmers' inability to use agricultural mechanization tools effectively affects food security in Nigeria. The study identified some challenges militating against agricultural mechanization in Nigeria. These challenges are affordability of mechanization, non-availability of mechanization, lack of farmer skills and high tariff in machine spare part. The study found out that the rural people are mostly poor and hardly can buy a costly machine individually. Another problem is that a large proportion of rural farming populations are illiterate. This situation stands in the way of improving agricultural production and productivity as well as general levels of farm management. The study concluded with some strategies to enhance agricultural mechanization for food security in Nigeria. The strategies are availability of finance and loans to farmers, capacity building of farmers. Others are development of local organization and the creation of enabling business environment. The study recommended that government should encourage and promote local design and manufacture of farm implements and equipment at low cost. Programmes and policies of the government especially agricultural mechanization and policy on tractorization should be given necessary funding so as to ensure food security.

1. Introduction

Food is one of the basic human needs through the ages. However, food has not always been readily available to a large proportion of the populace in many countries. This situation has caused economic hardship to many nations (Andersen, 2019). Growing concern about the impact of food shortage on the development of nations world over is situated on the need for nations to strategize for improved national development through food security. The issue of food security has been very crucial to national development of countries overtime. For instance, the dearth of bread helped to topple France's centuries-old monarchy in the revolution of 1789 (Andersen, 2019). The wheat crisis of the 1970s put the Soviet Union in a precarious situation. The USA used food as foreign policy instrument to its advantage by refusing to sell wheat to the Soviet Union until it adopted a less aggressive posture in her defense (Roger, 2016).

In simple terms, agricultural mechanization is the replacement of human and animal labour by mechanical devices in farming activities. According to Simalenga (2020), agricultural mechanization should be taken in its broadest sense, embracing the manufacture, distribution and operation of all types of tools, implements, machines and equipment for agricultural land development, farm production and crop harvesting, and primary processing. It is no doubt that agricultural mechanization is considered to hold the key to food security. Nations around the world have succeeded in using agricultural mechanization to boost food security (Ademosun, 2019).

However, for real progress, growth and sustainable advancement to occur in the agricultural industry anywhere, it is essential to apply a trio of technologies comprising the Biochemical, Socio-

Economic and Engineering, Technologies (BSEET) (Ademosun, 2019). The transformation in American agriculture has been attributed to mechanization. Agricultural mechanization in Asia, U.S.A and Europe is geared towards increasing food security. For instance, in USA only about 3 per cent of the entire populations are farmers. Yet, they are able to meet to a reasonable extent the food needs of the United State. The massive production rate is made possible by the use of agricultural mechanization (Choudhury and Musa, 2010).

In Nigeria, the agricultural sector remains the only custodian of food security and employer of labour. The sector employs about 70 percent of the labour force (Abimbola, 2014). Despite this huge number of persons engaged in agriculture, the sector has been unable to meet the food demand of Nigerians. There has been a nineteen-fold increase in food importation. Dependence on food importation could put Nigeria in a precarious state of insecurity. Societies have long been concerned that food supply would lag behind population growth, resulting to famine. It is hopeful that in the future, Nigeria would become the third most populous country in the world. Through better understanding of agricultural mechanization, she will be able to be self-sufficient in food production, or else be a country, pre-dominantly agricultural but not able to produce adequate food for its populace, Abimbola (2014). The need for agricultural mechanization in Nigeria has become more acute in recent years due to the urgent need to accelerate food and fibre production for the teeming urban and rural population. Adama (2015) summarized the primary objective of agricultural mechanization as: to minimize production cost, optimize protect quality, product the environment and minimize farm production flexibility.

Nigeria is blessed with abundant human and agricultural resources. However, majority of its citizens live in hunger and abject poverty. For instance, Nigeria is ranked 91st out of a total of 104 countries in the 2015 Global Hunger Index (Ebo, 2016). The 2012 United Nations Development Programme Human Development Index put Nigeria 153rd out of a total of 187 countries with hunger and poverty (Ebo, 2016). Classifying Nigeria as one of the poorest countries testifies to its failure to secure adequate food for its teaming population. Efforts by the government of Nigeria towards improving food security and access to food to its populace have not been successful (Ebo, 2016). Institutions like the Agricultural Development Project (ADP), River Basin Development Authority (RBDA), and National Food Storage Programme (NFSP) established to

boost agricultural development were not successful (Faloyin, 2015).

The largely subsistence agricultural sector has failed to keep up with rapid population growth of between 2.5% and 3% per annum in Nigeria (NISER, 2010). In Nigeria, hunger is pervasive, food price inflation has remained high and a greater proportion of household income is spent on food. The dependency of Nigeria on food importation has made her a food dependent nation, and a junior partner in comity of nations. This has become a threat to national development because without adequate and sustainable food security, people cannot live healthy and active lives (Faloyin, 2015). However, Nigeria's effort towards food sustainability has not been achieved. Food scarcity is caused mostly by the increase in world population. This is associated with the assertion that population increases geometrically while food production grows only arithmetically, if unchecked. Other causes of food scarcity like low level of agricultural mechanization, desertification, flood and erosion, sea pollution and pests menace, inadequate storage and distribution facilities are all hindrances to achievement of food security. A nation is not food secure until all people and each household have both physical and economic access to the basic food they need to work and function normally. Food must be available to everybody in sufficient proportion in the country. In spite of huge amounts invested in the procurement of agricultural machine in Nigeria, the level of agricultural mechanization continues to be very low (Adama, 2015). In respect of the above, Nigerian engineers have made a lot of progress in developing proto types of machines relevant to crops soils and socio-economic condition it is based on the above assertions that this study set out to assess agricultural mechanization as strategy for food security in Nigeria.

1.1 Justification of the Paper

Nigeria is facing a threatening food security crisis with its growing population becoming increasingly dependent on imported foods. The food crises could be attributed to low level of agricultural mechanization in Nigeria. Also, the once dominant subsistence-oriented farm economy is at risk of gradual marginalization. Insecure land tenure, scarcity of funds and credit, labour scarcity despite overall high unemployment and stagnant technology have crippled its further development. Until today, a wide range of mechanization policies have had limited impact in ameliorating the problems of food insecurity (Daramola, 2013).

Previous efforts in mechanization of agricultural productivity by various governments had been through the importation of tractors and implement into Nigeria. This has however not been able to solve the problem of our laggard embrace of mechanization. However over the years, little in term of policy guidelines have been formulated to achieve the objectives of effective agricultural mechanization process in the Country. Notwithstanding, there have been several programmes and projects that have been created to improve agricultural productivity with each having different implementation challenges. As a consequence of this, peasant farmers using primitive tools still constitute the bulk of producers of the food crops consumed in the Country. Nigeria is blessed with 98.3million hectares of arable landmass. 72 per cent of this has cultivation potential but only 35 per cent of the arable land is under actual cultivation (FMA, 2016). Despite the high proportion of cultivated landmass relative to the total available space, food production to feed the teeming populace has remained a mirage. Thus in essence, some questions can be asked.

2. Literature Review

Agricultural mechanization is a very broad field in which numerous factors have to be considered. According to Babajide (2019), agricultural mechanization is the application of tools, implements, and powered machinery as inputs to achieve agricultural production. Furthermore, Babajide reveals that many developing societies are intrinsically poor and lack the ability to take advantage of new technology hence they suffer from food crisis situations. Breeding crops and animals that produce higher yields of better quality but do not adversely affect the ecosystem can be achieved only through agricultural mechanization. He maintained that in response to the food crisis in developing countries, governments, research institutions and donor agencies have come up with a variety of technical, policy and institutional interventions, ranging from refocusing agricultural research and reviewing food security policies to the provision of emergency food aid.

According to Makanjuola (2019) agricultural mechanization embraces the manufacture, distribution and operation of all types of tools, implements, machines and equipment for agricultural land development. This definition is in contrast to the concept of many who erroneously take mechanization to mean the application of engineering principles to crop production only. Makanjuola pointed out that mechanization and intensification

levels, fertilizer use and use of other modern technologies have remained low in Africa to date. However, degraded lands are common all over the continent and there are many reasons for this. One of them is the continuous use of the plough (or hand hoe) that leads to soil degradation and loss of fertile top soil. It is astonishing to see how far the reality of soil erosion has progressed in many regions of Africa considering the currently low level of mechanization. Makanjuola further posited that agricultural mechanization covers all levels of technology from the simplest and most basic to the most sophisticated and powerful. To him what is very important is that the technology involved meets the real needs of farmers and can be used efficiently and effectively and is financially viable. He did not view agricultural mechanization as the use of tractors and sophisticated agricultural machinery in agriculture.

According to Kennedy (2019), food security is the availability at all times of adequate food supplies to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption. This definition failed to see food security as a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food. Kennedy construed as supply of food to meets the dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life by all people at all time. This definition is comprehensive but it did not recognize food security as the success of local livelihoods to guaranteed success to sufficient food at the household level.

Agricultural mechanization is an essential agricultural input which has the potential to facilitate and increase food security. It enables access to input supply chains and integration in downstream value chains. Thus it provide for more income, renewed business opportunities and further value addition. Moreover agricultural mechanization in its broadest sense can contribute significantly to the development of value chains as it has the potential to render postharvest, processing and environmentally friendly.

According to Oni (2018), the world population will reach 9 billion people by 2050. The worldwide call for food will increase for at least another 40 years due to the explosion in the global population. Adequate food security depends on the use of agricultural mechanization in farming activities to the feed the estimated population. It is essential to apply innovative methods in all stages of production, processing, and marketing of food materials. Despite the belief that the reasons for food insecurity are more complicated, some believe that improving the physical performance of agriculture using a set of

new technologies is the main solution. Agriculture has always had a crucial role in the preparation of human needs for food and its development. The importance of agriculture in providing the nutritional requirements for developing populations is undeniable (Oni, 2018). Additionally, several parameters in the agricultural sector are very useful as an indicator for the expression of social identity and cultural promotion of rural communities.

One of the contributing factors to food security is closing the yield gap that not only leads to increased crop production but also increases the efficiency of land use, reduces the production costs, and may result in food security. As a definition, yield gap refers to the difference between realized productivity and the best that can be achieved by using current technologies and management systems (James, 2018). Thus, the use of current and new technologies and management systems in agriculture is one of the ways to reduce the yield gap and food insecurity.

3. Theoretical Framework - Dependency Theory

The Dependency Theory was developed in the late 1950s by the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Raul Prebisch. Prebisch and his colleagues were concerned with the fact that economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not translate to growth in the poorer countries (Apter, 1987). As such, they concluded that economic activity in the richer countries often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries. Such a possibility was not predicted by neoclassical theory, which had assumed that economic growth was beneficial to all (Pareto optimal) even if the benefits were not always equally shared. Prebisch's explained that poor countries exported primary commodities to the rich countries who then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to the poorer countries. The "Value Added" by manufacturing a usable product always cost more than the primary products used to create those products. Consequently, poorer countries would never be earning enough from their export earnings to pay for their imports.

Prebisch asserted that poorer countries should embark on programmes of import substitution so that they need not purchase the manufactured products from the richer countries (Apter, 1987). The poorer countries would still sell their primary products on the world market, but their foreign exchange reserves would not be used to purchase their manufactures from abroad. However, three issues made this policy

difficult to follow. The first is that the internal markets of the poorer countries were not large enough to support the economies of scale used by the richer countries to keep their prices low. The second issue concerned the political will of the poorer countries as to whether a transformation from being primary products producers was possible or desirable. The final issue revolved around the extent to which the poorer countries actually had control of their primary products, particularly in the area of selling those products abroad. These obstacles to the import substitution policy led others to think a little more creatively and historically at the relationship between rich and poor countries (McCracken, 1991).

3.1 Overview of Agricultural Mechanization as Strategy Food Security in Nigeria

The production of food in Africa and especially in Nigeria is generally very labour intensive particularly in smallholder agriculture (Abimbola, 2014). The manual work carried out by farmers and their families is arduous and time consuming and in many countries this is a major constraint to increasing agricultural production. Also, the day to day drudgery of farming is a major contributory factor in the migration of people, particularly young people, from the rural countryside to the prospect of a better life in towns and cities. Agricultural mechanization is a crucial input to agricultural crop production, processing and transport (Abimbola, 2014). It is frequently very capital intensive, compared to other inputs and it has repercussions on the efficiency of input use – including seeds, fertilizer, water, and time/labour. It is also much more complex in its application, requiring not only correct use, but also a service infrastructure for maintenance and repair.

It is essential to embrace the agricultural mechanization sector and raise its efficiency in the context of Sustainable Crop Production Intensification (Kennedy, 2019). Whilst agricultural mechanization is indispensable for agricultural production, it can also have very detrimental effects on the environmental sustainability of farming. However if the correct technologies are applied then sustainable intensification can ensue. Two broad stages of farm mechanization process have been identified viz: Mechanization of power intensive operations (MPIO) e.g. land preparation, threshing etc. which generally precedes the Mechanization of control-intensive operations e.g. weeding, harvesting etc (Kennedy, 2019). A wide range of implements, equipment and power sources can be developed and harnessed in the course of mechanizing agriculture. Mechanization Policy (MP) measure should include

direct and indirect interventions by the government, so as to have impact on decisions made by the farmers. Agriculture contributed 41.84 per cent to Nigeria's GDP in 1989 (NIPC, 2020). Nigerian agriculture is still characterized by overwhelmingly small holdings, farm lands are rain fed, fertilizer use, agricultural activities are manually carried out and improved seed variety not adopted (Akinola, 2019).

This calls for mechanization of agricultural production operations from land clearing, sowing, harvesting, and processing to storage of food. Attempts to minimize drudgery and save time involved in these operations have yielded some results but much is still desired.

The objectives of the agricultural mechanization policy of Nigeria presented in the Agricultural Policy for Nigeria in 1989 are: reduction of the drudgery of agriculture by providing mechanical power to replace some of the labour required in agricultural business and reduction of the high cost of agricultural production which arises from high labour wage rates and the share of labour cost in the total cost of agricultural production. Small-scale farmers are estimated to account for the cultivation of about 90 per cent of the total cultivated land area in Nigeria, producing about 90 percent of the total agricultural output (CTA, 2014). This category of farmers still depends on manual labour to carry out their various farming operations. However, with labour demand at critical crop production stages, high labour cost and food demand for the teeming population of over 140 million with an annual growth rate of 2.5per cent, the introduction of agricultural labour saving devices to Nigerian agriculture is indispensable.

Mrema and Odigboh (2013) reported that about 86 per cent of land preparation operations in Nigeria are carried out with hand tools. The output of a human being is 0.07 kW which is limited by stress at high temperature and humidity conditions in tropical country like Nigeria. Thus, an average peasant farmer in Nigeria owns a farm less than 2ha which is barely enough to produce what is needed to feed his family. There are many factors responsible for this. The major one is lack of appropriate labour-saving agricultural tools and machines.

4. Agriculture Policies in Nigeria

4.1 National Accelerated Food Production Programme

The National Accelerated Food Production Programme (NAFPP) was an agricultural extension programme initiated in 1972 by the Federal Department of Agriculture during General Yakubu Gowon's regime. The programme focused on bringing about a significant increase in the production of maize, cassava, rice and wheat in the northern states through subsistent production within a short period of time. The programme was designed to spread to other states in the country after the pilot stage that was established in Anambra, Imo, Ondo, Oyo, Ogun, Benue, Plateau and Kano states. The NAFPP was designed to encourage food production and food security in an economy that had become increasingly dependent on crude oil. A major highlight of the programme was the encouragement given to ill-prepared universities undergraduates to go to the rural areas to teach peasant farmers modern farming techniques. Many saw (and still see) the NAFPP as an operation meant to fool Nigerians rather than to feed them, because it never yielded the anticipated food security.

4.2 Agricultural Development Projects

The Agricultural Development Projects (ADP) previously known as Integrated Agricultural Development Projects (IADP) was initially established in 1974 in the North East (Funtua), North West (Gusau) and North Central (Gombe) states as pilot schemes. The earlier impressive result of the programme led to its replication in 1989 to the entire then nineteen states of the Federation. This approach to agricultural and rural development was based on collaborative efforts between the federal government, state government and World Bank (Amalu, 1998). The important character of the programme are reliance on the small scale farmers as the main people that will bring about increase in food production and the feedback information mechanism which is a decentralized decision making process that allows farm families/households to give their responses to an innovation/technology, incentive, subsidies etc according to their judgment. The objectives of the programme are to bring about solution to the decrease found in agricultural productivity by sustaining domestic food supply, through massive infusion of World Bank funds, the ADPs were established to provide extension services, technical input support and rural infrastructure (Ayoola, 2011).

4.3 Operation Feed the Nation

This programme was established on 21st May 1976 under the military regime of General Olusegun Obasanjo. The programme was launched with the aim of bringing about increased food production in the entire nation through the active involvement and participation of everybody in every discipline thereby making every person to be capable of partly or wholly feeding him or herself. Under this programme every available piece of land in urban, sub-urban and rural areas was meant to be planted while government provided inputs and subsidies (like agrochemicals, fertilizers, improved variety of seed/seedlings, day olds chicks, matchets, sickle, hoes etc) freely to government establishments. Individuals received these inputs at a subsidized rate. The objectives of the OFN were to:

- Mobilize the nation towards self-sufficiency and self-reliance in food production.
- Encourage the sector of the community relying heavily on food purchase to grow their own food.
- Encourage general pride in agriculture.
- Encourage balanced nutritional feeding and thereby produce a healthy nation.

4.4 River Basin Development Authorities

River Basin Development Decree 25 of 1976 was promulgated in 1976 to establish eleven River Basin Development Authorities (RBDAs) (Ayoola, 2011). The initial intention of the authorities was to foster the economic potentials of the existing water bodies particularly irrigation and fishery with hydroelectric power generation and domestic water supply as secondary objectives. The objective of the programme was later extended to other areas most importantly to production and rural infrastructural development. Problems found in the programme were: a number of the authorities grew out of proportion and the operations of some suffered from intensive political interference. In addition, substantial public funds were wasted to streamline sizes and functions of RBDAs through the disposal of their non-water assets.

The river basins authorities were also expected to bridge the gap between the rural and urban centres by taking development to the grass roots and discourage migration from the rural areas to the urban centres. These objectives were to be achieved through surface impoundment of water by constructing small, medium and large dams, which would enable an all-year round farming activities in the country. The policy was to use the “basins as development

modules to bridge the widening gap between rural and urban areas and stem the drift of rural people to overcrowded cities.” In furtherance of these objectives, the Federal Department of Fisheries (FDF) was also established in 1976. The Department was to collaborate with the RBDAs to promote fishery development through a number of different kinds of projects that provide financial and technical assistance to promote fisheries in commercial and small-scale fish farming. “The need for the Development in the river basins cannot be overemphasized as it is essential for complementing the production from marine sources (Bamisaye, 1986).

4.5 Green Revolution

GR was a programme inaugurated by Shehu Shagari in April 1980. The programme was aimed at increasing production of food and raw materials in order to ensure food security and self-sufficiency in basic staples. Secondly, it aspired to boost production of livestock and fish in order to meet home and export needs and to expand and diversify the nation’s foreign exchange earnings through production and processing of export crops. The Federal Government ensured the success of the programme by providing agrochemicals, improved seeds/seedlings, irrigation system, machine (mechanization), credit facilities, improved marketing and favourable pricing policy for agricultural products. The programme did not achieve its objective of increasing food supply because there was delay in execution of most of the projects involved in the programme. There was also no monitoring and evaluation of the projects for which huge sums of money were spent.

4.6 Directorate for Food Roads and Rural Infrastructure

The Directorate was initiated in Nigeria in January 1986 under General Ibrahim Babangida’s administration. It was a kind of home grown social dimensions of adjustment (SDA) that was embarked upon in most sub-Saharan African countries by the World Bank, African Development Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The programme was designed to improve the quality of life (improvement in nutrition, housing, health, employment, road, water, industrialization etc) and standard/level of living of the rural dwellers through the use of many resources that exist in the rural areas and mass participation of the rural people. The poor quality of infrastructures provided by the Directorate probably due to embezzlement/mismanagement of fund made the impact of the programme almost

insignificant. However, the Directorate has been criticized in the past for lack of proper focus and programme accountability (Idachaba, 2014).

4.7 Better Life Programme for Rural Women

Better Life Programme (BLP) for rural women was founded in Nigeria by Mrs Maryam Babangida (wife of the then president of Nigeria) in 1987. The programme aimed at stimulating and motivating rural women towards achieving better living standards and sensitizing the rest of Nigerians to their problems. Others include; to raise consciousness about their rights, the availability of opportunities and facilities, and their social, political and economic responsibilities; encourage recreation and enrich family life; and inculcate the spirit of self-development particularly in the fields of education, business, arts, crafts and agriculture (Obasi and Oguche, 2015).

Over publicity of the programme was criticized by people who thought that the programme might turn into a mere fashion parade. Also, cultural and religious inhibition of the muslims that do not allow easy access to women in 'purdah' reduced level of participation and consequently led to low level of benefit accruing from the programme.

4.8. National Agricultural Land Development Authority

The National Agricultural Land Development Authority (NALDA) was established in 1992 much more lately than the Decree (Land Use Decree, 1978) and Act (Land Use Act 1979). The Authority aimed at giving strategic public support for land development, assisting and promoting better uses of Nigeria's rural land and their resources. Others are boosting profitable employment opportunities for rural dwellers, raising the level/standard of living of rural people, targeting and assisting in achieving food security through self reliance and sufficiency. The land reform act/decreed has been criticized most as what highly placed officers used to usurp land that belonged to poor people.

4.9 Family Support Programme

The Family Support Programme (FSP) was inaugurated in 1994, by the wife of the then Head of State of Nigeria Mrs. Maryam Sani Abacha. It was a child of necessity borne out of the need to improve the life and lots of Nigerian masses, especially women in the rural areas. It was to improve the previous experiences of women in development programme by broadening its coverage and

sharpening its focus (Aliu, 2011). This programme was a shift of policy thrust on the role of family in national development, particularly as it effects major on social sectors such as health, education and economic empowerment amongst others.

The policy objectives of the FSP are:

- To improve and sustain family cohesion through the promotion of social and economic wellbeing of the Nigerian family for its maximum contribution to national development.
- To promote policies and programmes that strengthens the observance and protection of human rights and the advancement of social justice and human dignity.
- To promote decent health care delivery in reducing material and child mortality and morbidity through improved health care system.
- To sensitize government on the need to provide adequate shelter for all Nigerians.
- Carry out public enlightenment campaigns to sensitize the general public on matters of human decency, civil responsibility and concern for the welfare of the disadvantaged.

5. Level of Agricultural Mechanization in Nigeria

5.1 Hand Tools Technology (HTT)

This is the simplest, and the most basic level of agricultural mechanization in Nigeria. It is the level of technology that has sustained the population through ages. This class of technology has played the leading role among others in the Nigeria context (Sani, 2013). Farming with HTT is tedious, and inefficient, leading to low productivity and small farm holdings. The HTT relies on man as the source of energy for the driving of tools. Currently, well over 90% of farm operations (bush clearing, land preparations etc) are executed through the above means. Some basic hand tools used in Nigeria include Spades, Rakes, Digging Forks, Hoes, and Hand Planters. A greater percentage of land preparation, operations in Africa are still carried out using hand tools powered by the human muscle. A farmer using HTT can cultivate only about one hectare of land. He cannot do more than that for certain scientifically established fact.

5.2 Draught – Animal Technology (DAT)

This class refers to the range of implement, machines and equipment that are powered by animals and have

been found very useful in farming operations. This level of development in mechanization is also referred to in some literature as the introduction of improved hand tools, animals and tractor drawn equipment. Though use is limited to tillage and transportation, the output of these means is far ahead in worth compared with the HTT (Sani, 2014). A major limiting factor in the use of this class of technology is the prevalence of tse-tse fly and lack of local production of animal-drawn equipment. The use of animals as a source of power provides economic gains not only for farmers but also for the local economy. Local businesses benefit from the use of draught animals both on the support side (retailing, manufacturing, and servicing of implements) as well as the processing, marketing and sale of surplus agricultural products. For the national economy, the requirement for foreign currency is generally small or non-existent (Sani, 2014). Animals and trailers also provide local transport facilities in rural areas. Another major economic benefit for farmers who switch to using animal draught is that it releases them and their family to carry out additional, income generating activities.

5.3 Engine Powered Technology (EPT)

The EPT is the modern research and development based method of modern technology in agricultural productivity. This involves the use of tractors, engines, and electricity to power motorized machine for farming operations (Sani, 2014). The vagaries of weather, climatic conditions soil and crop types are important variables in this category. The power sources and their associated implements are available in sizes, power ratings, level of sophistication and technical complexity that vary tremendously. Where the conditions for the use of tractors and large machinery are suitable, investment in agricultural mechanization has proven to be profitable. The main conditions being that the returns gained from using machinery are sufficient to cover investment (Igbeka, 2012). Farmers also need to be sufficiently skilled, both technically and managerially in order to make best use of the technology. This is often not the case in many developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, where the introduction and adoption of advanced technologies has been found to be problematic.

Over the last two decades there have been further rapid advances in industrialized countries in the development of agricultural machinery. This has largely been due to the use of electronic and information technologies. The use of these technologies in tractors and combines has become

commonplace and has led to the development of precision farming techniques as well as the automation of a large range of other farming operations. It is not uncommon to find systems of automatic feeding of dairy cows with levels of feed based on an individual cow's milk production (Igbeka, 2012). Another example is the use of sprinkler irrigation systems which automatically apply water according to levels of soil moisture but also apply controlled amounts of fertilizer and pesticides.

6. Impacts of Agricultural Mechanization on Food Security in Nigeria

Nigerian agriculture is still characterized by overwhelmingly small holdings. These Holdings are farm lands are rain fed, fertilizer use, agricultural activities are manually carried out and improved seed variety not adopted (Kerr, 2019). This calls for mechanization of agricultural production operations from land clearing, sowing, harvesting, and processing to storage of food. Attempts to minimize drudgery and save time involved in these operations have yielded some results but much is still desired. Small-scale farmers are estimated to account for the cultivation of about 90 per cent of the total cultivated land area in Nigeria, producing about 90 per cent of the total agricultural output. This category of farmers still depends on manual labour to carry out their various farming operations. The direct result of the current reliance on crude and traditional methods is the galloping inflationary trend that is the bane of the nation (McNamara, 2014). Technological solutions in Agriculture would reverse this trend. This would require a huge capital outlay including the cost of importation of capital equipment and the funding of research and development. Mechanization would serve as a means of restoring the glory of the sector as a major source of foreign exchange earnings (Makanjuola, 2019). Mechanization of the agricultural sector needs to be provided for a deserved national priority

Application of machines to farm production Nigeria started about 40 years ago but over the recent 10 years has increased remarkably. Agricultural equipment innovations are relevant in transforming livelihoods in Nigeria and curtail food insecurity. Nigerian Agricultural Engineers have developed many machines and equipment for agricultural operations from tillage to processing (Makanjuola, 2019). Some of these tools are Batch process cassava peeling machine, Proda Cassava peeling machine, Proda Garri Frying machine. Others are Reciprocating Triple – sieve multi- grain separator,

Passive Solar heated Poultry Chick Brooder, Grain Hammer mill, Rotary Power Weeder, Maize planter, Melon Washer and many other agricultural machines and equipment abandoned in workshops of our institutions. These machines are indigenous, readily available, and cost less than imported ones (Mrema, 2015).

7. Food Security and Mechanization Strategies

7.1 Improvement in irrigation facilities

Fundamentally, Nigerian environment is characterized by fair to good soils but poor and unreliable rainfall and low quantity is the case in arid and semi-arid regions. However, technological advancement has given the opportunity to tap the two important natural resources (water and soil) for cultivating the land year around through irrigation (Oriola, 2019). Irrigation projects are therefore designed to help reduce the dependence of crop growth on precipitation which to a large extent is uncontrollable by man (Oriola, 2019). This implies that irrigation is to meet additional requirements of crops during the wet season and supplies water to farmlands during dry aimed at increasing and improving agricultural yield particularly in semi-arid and arid environments (Daniel, 2014). Nwajiuba (2011) observed that irrigation has made higher and reliable yield possible as crops can be planted more than once in a year within the tropics, apart from bigger and reliable yield as against yearly cultivation which is often at the mercy of seasonal rainfall.

7.2 Biotechnology

It is projected that by the year 2025, four fifths of the expected global population of 8.5 billion will be living in developing countries. Currently, it is doubtful whether existing global resources and technologies will satisfy the demands of this growing population for foods and other consumer commodities (Omiti, 2019). The challenge is therefore how to meet these needs mainly production. To avoid damaging environmentally sensitive areas and hence ensure greater food insecurity, new methods need to be utilized to increase farm output on cultivated land. Although global food production is sufficient to meet the needs of every citizen on earth, but the per capita production and availability remains lowest in Africa (FAO, 2016). While Western Europe's food availability stands at 3500 kilocalories per day and those of north America at 3600 kilocalories per day and in sub-Saharan Africa,

it stands at only 2100 kilocalories per person per day, the lowest level of per capita food availability in the world (FAO,2016).

Biotechnology programmes in the field of crop improvement are rapidly emerging in Africa. Examples include Kenya's virus resistant transgenic sweet potato project, Egypt's transgenic potato, maize, faba bean and tomato developments, South Africa's new tobacco and cotton varieties with resistance to herbicides. The relevance of genetic modification in producing transgenic crop varieties with resistance to pesticides, insects and diseases cannot be ignored, given the prohibitive costs to farmers of chemicals and input losses (Kerr, 2019). In addition to stimulating food sufficiency, the full-scale adoption of biotechnology is expected to create employment, as a result raising income of households and their purchasing power. This will enhance their ability to afford and consume more nutritional and safer food commodities.

8. The Challenges of Agricultural Mechanization for Food Security in Nigeria

8.1 Lack of Affordability of Mechanization Tools

The rural people are mostly poor and hardly can buy a costly machine individually (Abah, 2010). Some rich farmers having a large quantity of agricultural lands possess some costly machines like, tractors, power tillers, power tiller operated seeders, combines etc. They use these machines in their own lands and also operate them on hiring basis in others' lands and earn a substantial return. But, the number of such farmers is very limited. The importation of used machinery, particularly tractors, combine harvesters and other specialized machinery offers farmers an alternative source of cheaper machinery and offers an additional way to meet demand. However, whether farmers can benefit from this cheap source of machinery depends upon whether the importer is serious in offering a service to farmers including the provision of spare parts and repair services (Abah, 2010). Importation and sale of used machinery occurs mainly in countries where there are technicians who have a relatively high level of skills and knowledge but where the costs of labor are low. As is the case with new machinery, it is often tempting for the public sector to become involved in the importation of used machinery, however, without specialized knowledge of agricultural machinery these schemes usually end up with disastrous consequences.

8.2 Non-Availability and Lack of Quality Machine

Tractors and agricultural machinery can be imported or locally made. Both sources may have a series of problems associated with them. Generally speaking locally made agricultural machinery is of fairly poor quality and high in price. This is due to the underdeveloped nature of the machinery manufacturing industry which in turn is largely due to poor demand (Adebayo, 2015). In addition, supply chains to support tractors and agricultural machinery with spare parts, advice and other services (especially clean fuel) are often underdeveloped and have difficulties in extending to remote rural areas. Due importance was not given to farm mechanization until the beginning of the century. Earlier, only a few manufacturers came up to fabricate simple manually operated machinery like weeder, thresher, winnower etc. With the growing needs for foods, the decision makers got the realization that Nigeria agriculture will have no other alternative than to adopt mechanized cultivation to feed her ever growing population (Adebayo, 2015). This helped grow some agricultural manufacturing workshops in the country. Presently, more than 40,000 small and medium sized local metal working workshops have grown up to manufacture agricultural machinery all over the country.

8.3 Low Knowledge of Mechanization

Although African farmers have a great deal of traditional knowledge and experience accumulated over generations, access to new knowledge remains largely limited. Mostly the level of training for farmers is relatively low and the opportunities for further training are limited (Adekanye, 2010). Public and private extension and training services have limitations in outreach, especially in rural and remote areas, as distances are large and transport can be scarce. Demand for extension and training can also be low and so it is often difficult to economically justify such activities. Another problem is that a large proportion of rural farming populations are illiterate. This situation stands in the way of improving agricultural production and productivity as well as general levels of farm management. For example, land preparation and transportation are carried out by tractors. Other operations such as seeding and harvesting are still mostly carried out manually. This is due to a lack of knowledge by farmers about suitable equipment and a lack of skills in operating such equipment. Where machines are used, the lack of both farmer knowledge and skills leads to misuse and mismanagement of machinery; especially of more sophisticated machines.

8.4 Tariff Difference on Machines and Spare Parts

Low tariff on imported machines and high tariff on spare parts and materials have discouraged the local manufacturers. Since, there is no quality control system of the imported machinery, a huge number of machines are being imported and distributed directly by the local importers to the users. Also, many of the imported low quality machines have already made the farmers reluctant to use them. Once these farmers decide not to use the machines, it becomes hard to convince them for a new machine (Makanjuola, 2019). Further, the high tariff has restricted the imports of spare parts making them unavailable in the local market. Private sector-led input and output markets have not developed as quickly as expected and farmers are constrained by a lack of free competition in these markets, including high prices for agricultural inputs as well as lower farm gate prices than in other regions of the World. The consequent reduction in farm incomes has led to an overall decline in the level of investment in agriculture. At the same time farmer organizations have not generally been effective in assisting smallholders to improve their access to markets and public services.

9. Prospects of Agricultural Mechanization Policy Focus Areas

The philosophy in practice worldwide is that national governments provide the basic conditions and act as catalyst to promote a self-sustaining development of agriculture including the sub-sector of mechanization. Therefore in order to properly position the agricultural sector to confront the daunting challenges of the 21st century, the government should redirect policies and provide strategic assistance to strengthen the growth of agricultural mechanization sub sector in the following main areas:

- Land tenure and reform programs to ensure ready access to mechanizable land.
- Subsidies and Price support for Tractor ownership and management. Even though the extant policy on tractor and equipment use have been towards the establishment of private sector led THUs. In practical terms, it is seldom to see entrepreneurs come quickly forward to fill the gap especially in situation where government has been heavily involved. The development of the private sector to sustain the mechanization efforts, therefore, requires programs, policy incentives and government assistance (Simalenga, 2010).

- Technical assistance especially in categorization and standardization of tools, machinery and technologies to prevent farmers from purchasing unreliable equipment.
- Guidelines and standard for Tractors and equipment safety
- Policy guidelines on equipment for animal husbandry mechanization such as milk collection and processing equipment, egg collection and cleaning, feeders, drinkers and dung cleaners
- Post harvest technologies and on farm storage systems, and
- Advancing policies to support Agriculture led entrepreneurship, that is, small and medium scale agro industrial development.

These measures among others will ensure a proper place for the mechanization subsector to grow in *pari pasu* with other branches of the agricultural sector instead of the current scanty mention it has hitherto received in the extant policies. In addition community driven development (CDD) has now become the acceptable model for sustainable agrarian development, subsequent policies may tap into the ideas of the new paradigm shift through the concept for community farms advocated in Abah (2010).

In other to solve the protracted problem of inadequacy of farm machinery, the Indian approach, which has been yielded considerable result, is recommended for this country. Under this approach, a comprehensive inventory of the existing indigenous tools and implement must be taken. The implements should then be subjected to rigorous testing and improvement in order to increase their efficiency in fields. In this way we would build up a ready-made source of usable indigenous tools to enhance our agricultural activities. However, as noted in Ogunlowo (2019) for any such technology to be adoptable, it must be simple and appropriate for the job, it must be profitable and affordable to the users and it must be environmental friendly.

10. Strategies to enhance agricultural mechanization for food security in Nigeria

10.1 Availability of Finance and Credit Loan to Farmers

Most times farmers are unable to afford the costs of increasing their level of farm power use and mechanization from their own resources. Therefore access to some form of credit is necessary for

increasing investment in agricultural mechanization. This could enhance food security in Nigeria. This credit could be made available for all sizes and types of farms and all types of mechanization. Assessment of whether credit should be made available for farmers should be based on a realistic assessment of risk and the potential for increased returns arising out of the investment (Ademosun, 2015).

10.2 Famer's Capacity Building on Mechanization

The profitable use of agricultural machinery and equipment is influenced by how well it is set up, managed, and operated. Bad quality of agricultural operations results in lower levels of production. Wrong selection and use of machinery can lead to a negative impact on the environment and in particular on the soil. Lack of knowledge and ignorance of the technologies used in AM will offset any expected improvements in farm profitability (Akinola, 2019). This can be overcome by suitable and effective training and education. Educating owners and operators of farm machinery and equipment could create an awareness of the opportunities that mechanization provides. This could be achieved by improving the levels of knowledge and understanding of the purpose of using machinery and training on how to operate it efficiently and safely.

10.3 Development of Local Organizations

Encouraging and facilitating the creation of local organizations among small scale famers is a very effective means of disseminating information on mechanization. Farmers' organizations have two main roles to play in assisting individual farmers with agricultural mechanization issues (Akinyele, 2019). First, they could encourage and promote the sharing of machinery among different farm households. They could enable individual households to use machinery and equipment which is beyond each individual's capacity to buy. However, the mechanisms for successful joint use of machinery are often complex. This often relies on the existence of traditions of sharing and assisting in the particular community.

10.4 Creating an Enabling Business Environment

An enabling business environment is an essential requirement for the development and expansion of the mechanization sub-sector. Improving the business environment must cover all stakeholders involved in agricultural mechanization (Adeniran and Babatunde, 2010). It is brought about by putting in place an enabling mix of the different policies that directly or indirectly affect the sub-sector. At farmer level,

improving their income also requires an enabling environment through appropriate taxation and pricing for agricultural products. For the agricultural machinery sub sector, a favorable environment is one which allows the creation of a free market. In this context, improving governance is imperative.

Policies which affect agricultural input prices are one of the most effective means of influencing the direction and pace of agricultural mechanization. For example, where wages are increasing rapidly relative to the prices of other inputs, changes in relative prices can induce labour-saving mechanization (Akinyele, 2019). Governments can influence this process by promoting policies that change the relative cost of labour to mechanization and thus affects the rate of mechanization.

11. Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper asserted that it is essential to embrace the agricultural mechanization sector and raise its efficiency in the context of Sustainable Crop Production Intensification. Whilst agricultural mechanization is indispensable for agricultural production, it can also have very detrimental effects on the environmental sustainability of farming. However if the correct technologies are applied then sustainable intensification can ensue. A wide range of implements, equipment and power sources can be developed and harnessed in the course of mechanizing agriculture. Mechanization policy measure should include direct and indirect interventions by the government, so as to have impact on decisions made by the farmers. The study also opined that Nigeria is facing a threatening food security crisis. Its growing population is increasingly dependent on imported foods. The food crises could be attributed to low level of Agricultural Mechanization in Nigeria. Also, the once dominant subsistence-oriented farm economy is at risk of gradual marginalization. Insecure land tenure, scarcity of funds and credit, labour scarcity despite overall high unemployment and stagnant technology have crippled its further development. Until today, a wide range of mechanization policies have had limited impact in ameliorating the problems of food insecurity.

The study recommended that:

- The Nigeria government should encourage and promote local design and manufacture of farm implements and equipments at low cost.

- Programmes and policies of the government especially agricultural mechanization and policy on tractorization should be given necessary funding so as to ensure food security.
- Subsidies should be provided on agricultural mechanization by the federal, state and local government, and other private organizations.
- Opportunities should be provided for farmers to participate in planning and decision making in agricultural programmes and policies in the state

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